

**KRISTA LEPIK**

Governmentality and cultural participation  
in Estonian public knowledge institutions



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**19**



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## LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

- I Lepik, K. (2010). Tartu University Library as a medium between different patrons. In: Katsirikou, A. and Skiadas, C. H. (Eds). *Qualitative and Quantitative Methods in Libraries: Theory and Applications. Proceedings of the International Conference on QQML2009*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co., 141–147.
- II Lepik, K. (2013). The Changing Users of Memory Institutions. In: Runnel, P., Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt, P., Viires, P. and Laak, M. (Eds). *The Digital Turn: User's Practices and Cultural Transformations*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 61–70. <http://www.peterlang.com/?264035>
- III Lepik, K. and Carpentier, N. (2013). Articulating the visitor in public knowledge institutions. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 10(2), 136–153. <http://www.tandfonline.com>
- IV Seiler, V., Miil, K. and Lepik, K. (2012). How to fit teaching of information literacy with students' needs: an on-line credit course model from the University of Tartu Library. *LIBER Quarterly*, 22 (1), 42–63.
- V Lepik, K. and Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt, P. (2013). Handicraft Hobbyists in an Ethnographic Museum – Negotiating Expertise and Participation. In: Tomanic Trivundža, I.; Carpentier, N.; Nieminen, H.; Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt, P.; Kilborn, R.; Sundin, E., Olsson, T. (Eds.). *Past, future and change: Contemporary analysis of evolving media scapes*. Ljubljana: Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana Press: Založba FDV, 267–280.



## AUTHOR'S CONTRIBUTION

**Study I** – The study was fully initiated and designed by the author. The study was conducted and analysed by the author and the author is fully responsible for the manuscript.

**Study II** – The study was fully initiated and designed by the author. The study was conducted and analysed by the author and the author is fully responsible for the manuscript.

**Study III** – The study was co-authored. The author had a leading role in the article in analysing research data, and embedding it in the Estonian post-Communist transition society context. The author is equally responsible with the co-author for developing the theoretical framework, structuring the research results and developing the discussion.

**Study IV** – The study was co-authored. The author was responsible for the methodological choices, participated in analysis of materials and contributed to writing various parts of this article.

**Study V** – The study was co-authored. The author was responsible for analysing research data. The author had a leading role in the article in developing the theoretical framework, setting the agenda, interpreting the research results and developing the discussion. Interviews used for this study were conducted and transcribed by Marke Teppor within the framework of her master thesis “Kultuurilise osaluse võimalustest ERMi ja käsitööharrastajate näitel” (“About the Opportunities of Cultural Participation based on the Estonian National Museum and Craft Practitioners”).

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## INTRODUCTION

When Estonia regained its independence it felt as if new the democratic society could be free of ideology and propaganda. Publications written in the spirit of Marxism and Leninism became scrap paper, with relatively few exceptions preserved by the larger libraries that are obliged to maintain exhaustive collections of publications published in Estonian. Particularly museums and libraries could from, that time on, be seen as freed from earlier ideological duties (Valm 2002; Sepp 2002). For both museums and libraries this also meant certain changes in working with visitors as the clear-cut propagandistic role of these institutions quickly diminished. Becoming depoliticised allowed these institutions to pledge loyalty to at least seemingly universal values of freedom and of access, and to distance themselves from ‘dirty’ political matters while once again becoming ‘true’ sanctuaries for knowledge. And it is so not only in Estonian libraries and museums – on the contrary, the same values are today being praised in public knowledge institutions all over the world. Yet escaping from Soviet ideology to an ideology-free world is a mere illusion. The thesis of the end of ideology<sup>1</sup> has been much questioned in the social sciences (e.g. Dalton 2006; Jost 2006), and quite recently also by museum and library practitioners and researchers (e.g. Radford 1992; Jensen 2008).

Considering the afore-mentioned situation, I discuss the nature of contemporary libraries and museums **by analysing how cultural participation, from the perspective of governmentality analysis, is put into practice in public knowledge institutions in Estonia**. By drawing on the definition of public knowledge institutions suggested by Dalsgaard, Dindler and Eriksson (2008)<sup>2</sup> the notion ‘public knowledge institutions’ is here used as an umbrella concept to refer to both libraries and museums. Throughout the writing of this thesis, other concepts like ‘memory institution’ or ‘cultural heritage institution’ were also considered (see also **Study II**). Yet ‘public knowledge institutions’ reflects most clearly the public role and the content<sup>3</sup> of museums and libraries, communicated to the visitors. This communicative aspect of public knowledge

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<sup>1</sup> The end of ideology proposed by Bell ([1960] 2000) was seen in “the acceptance of a Welfare State; the desirability of decentralized power; a system of mixed economy and of political pluralism” (Bell ([1960] 2000: 402-403). For libraries and museums, the decentralisation of power, and thus getting rid of the propagandistic role in ideological state apparatuses (largely in terms that have been described by Althusser (1970)), has been *the* milestone of the end of ideology.

<sup>2</sup> In their paper, Dalsgaard, Dindler and Eriksson (2008) define public knowledge institutions as “places accessible to the community whose functions are to serve as repositories for and disseminators of knowledge” (Dalsgaard, Dindler and Eriksson 2008: 93).

<sup>3</sup> Cultural heritage or memory both emphasise the role of libraries or museums as treasures guarding the valuables of a nation. Although both institutions retain this important function, in addition to acquisition and preservation of heritage, their communicative aspect also needs to be accentuated. This is more evident in one of the multiple connotations of the ‘public’ and perceptible in knowledge, something that is less personal than afore-mentioned valuables.

institutions also informs the application of the Foucauldian approach to governmentality, especially when we want to critically analyse the power-related aspects of communication in public knowledge institutions. As governmentality analysis covers a broad spectrum of social relationships, it is crucial to point out that the focus of this thesis is on the communication, and relationships, between museums and libraries and their visitors. This means that the state level of governmentality, including political culture and totalitarian heritage, and the ‘stock of knowledge’ usually considered relevant and worthy of preservation in museums and libraries is not in the scope of this thesis.

There are several reasons for the choice of museums and libraries as sites of inquiry, and the choice of the University of Tartu Library and the National Museum of Estonia in particular.

First, in general, the choice of museums and libraries, but not archives which are also public knowledge institutions, is explained by the challenges stemming from the societal changes that have caused a shift in the roles of museums and libraries in particular (Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt, Runnel, Aljas 2013, **Study II**). Their public role as *the* shrines of knowledge is not as fixed as it used to be: both museums and libraries are in a way competing with the vast resources of the Internet. Their public role is challenged by the various leisure activities and possibilities on the one hand, and by the different genres that enable active societal engagement on the other (Kaun 2013). All these challenges are ‘complemented’ by the constant interplay between the support of, and pressure from, the state. The afore-mentioned challenges have an impact on the work of museums and libraries, including their work with visitors to these institutions, thus making the contribution of the current thesis needed both in academic and practical terms. Museums and libraries in particular have been revisiting their approaches to visitors over that last several decades, and it seems that the end to this search is not about to come soon. However, the approach of museums and libraries to visitors needs to be handled cautiously. The two institutions, the National Museum of Estonia and the University of Tartu Library, play a prominent role in shaping the ‘landscape’ of Estonian museums and libraries. Yet this landscape is a diverse one. Within the field of the library it is inhabited by smaller or larger public, school, research and special, libraries, as well as of course the national library; while in the field of the museum it is inhabited by state-owned, municipal (town, county, village), university, and private museums all varying in size and content. As the functions of these institutions also vary, it is possible that there may be some differences in governance practices of different public knowledge institutions.

Secondly, the choice of the University of Tartu Library and the Estonian National Museum is influenced by the professional background of the author: since 1999 I have worked at the National Library of Estonia, and at the University of Tartu Library, and has performed varying tasks related to library work. In addition, the opportunity to study museum communication under the aegis of grant project ETF8006, “Developing museum communication in the

21st century information environment”, thoroughly shaped the research conducted during the author’s doctoral studies.

Last but not least the academic environment of the Institute of Journalism and Communication at the University of Tartu has informed the focus of the thesis which first and foremost contributes to the field of media and communication studies, and possibly also library and information sciences due to the research topic. First, it covers communicative aspects which are related to audience and reception studies: on the one hand the ways in which an institution communicates to its audiences (**Study I, II, III, IV, V**), and the ways in which these audiences receive the communicative action, on the other (**Study II, III, V**). Second, the thesis takes a critical look at power relations framing modes of cultural participation in public knowledge institutions, thus contributing to the strand of ‘governmentality studies’ in the field of media and communication (especially within **Study III**). Although the thesis is affiliated to the normative framework provided by participatory-democratic theories, enriched by more ‘sociological’ approaches, it does not treat participation as an imperative, rather it discusses various possibilities for cultural participation. Third, the thesis considers the context of Estonia as a post-Communist transition society, and thus hints at the context-dependency of the afore-mentioned contributions.

The thesis views public knowledge institutions as sites where power and knowledge meet. Especially in practical literature (varying handbooks or standards, e.g. Melling and Little 2003; Boylan 2004; Simon 2010; Johnson et al. 2012) about library or museum work the focus is often on information, and the ways it is processed within these institutions: acquired, preserved, organised, and communicated to visitors. However, another dimension, knowledge about the implicit and explicit purposes of all traditional tasks of public knowledge institutions is often left in the background as if there is not much to debate, as “things have always been this way”. As a young librarian I have heard this phrase several times, but only doctoral studies have enabled me to understand why and how things become taken for granted in libraries and museums.

Analysing preconceptions in public knowledge institutions of course means that we need to consider ways in which ambivalent concepts such as power or ideology can be defined and understood (both notions will be discussed in chapters 1.1 and 1.1.1). Are the concepts of power and ideology necessarily embedded in institutional politics, and are these concepts perceived as inevitably negative, in the service of a few limited social groups in order to ‘distort’ reality? Or can we detect power and ideology in other domains of life as well; is there some power in all relationships, and some ideological traits in any institution? The dissertation explores these notions from the perspective that does not attempt to judge power or ideology, and views these concepts as inherent to all walks of social life. It also means that references to power or ideology in public knowledge institutions are not accusations against practitioners in museums and libraries – these references rather state the power-laden

and ideological nature of public knowledge institutions, and the wish to explore power-related phenomena in depth in these settings.

The notions of power and ideology are approached within the framework of Foucauldian analysis of governmentality (explained in chapter 1.1), or a governing rationality that provides conditions for cultural participation (explained in chapter 1.2). As the concept of governmentality is not (yet) widely used in the context of Estonian public knowledge institutions or in the field of communication studies in Estonia, a significant portion of the thesis is dedicated to explaining the notion of governmentality, and concepts related to governance. Governmentality hereby is seen as techniques of power applied in order to achieve certain goals, considering the cultural values and attitudes of the people to whom these techniques are applied, but also the people's possible reactions and acts in response to these power techniques. Although the term 'govern' in 'governmentality' usually refers to the field of politics, governmentality can take root in many different domains: it can be found regulating "economies, populations, industries, souls, domestic architecture, bathrooms, exhaust emissions, etc." (Dean 1999: 11). In addition to various domains, analysis of governmentality is applicable in diverse societal settings, including the Estonian, as it does *not* attempt to evaluate governance practices according to some theoretical de-contextualising standard. Rather, the governmentality approach allows us to take into account the contextual 'peculiarities' when analysing practices and power relations, and thus is suitable to analyse cultural participation practices in Estonian public knowledge institutions.

Cultural participation can be one of the governmentalised domains. To introduce the concept of cultural participation, this thesis first views processes of consumption of cultural products and services through sociological perspectives (Pronovost 2002; Morrone 2006), and then, considering political viewpoints (Pateman 1970; Carpentier 2011; Dahlgren 2006) attends to the topic of production of cultural products. Analysing the concepts of governmentality and cultural participation together reveals in the domain of cultural participation in public knowledge institutions a set of power relations that have the capacity to both allow and disallow, having impact on further cultural participation. Public knowledge institutions are in this thesis seen as holders of expertise (e.g. shaping identities, empowering and disempowering visitors, promoting skills necessary to survive in a rapidly developing society), attended by the visitors with their questions related to knowledge. Thereby, public knowledge institutions shape the field of knowledge of entire societies – the afore-mentioned capacities let to treat these institutions as ideological, therefore selected works on ideology will also be touched upon in the dissertation.

As mentioned above, governmentality analysis is not exclusively focusing on institutions, it is also focused on their power relations with various individuals – in case of this dissertation the relationships with visitors to public knowledge institutions. Participation in these settings is far from taken for granted, thus several preconditions for cultural participation are considered in order to understand what encourages or hinders visitor participation (discussed



in chapter 1.3). On the one hand, there are preconditions, which are provided or fostered by public knowledge institutions: possibilities to access to and interact with the institutions (Carpentier 2011). On the other hand, the conditions of participation can also be highly dependent on visitors themselves, allowing us to discuss the intentionality of ‘cultural participants’ (see also **Study V**). In this thesis, the visitor-dependent preconditions are described within the framework of capitals, addressing financial, education, cultural, social and political capitals (Bourdieu 1986 cited by Casey 2008). In addition, as preconditions for cultural participation stemming from visitors, the perceived identity of the visitor (as a potential participant), and information literacy are suggested. The choice of these preconditions is not arbitrary: both conditions for participation have emerged within the frameworks of studies conducted for the thesis (pre-eminently in **Study V**). Considering the iterative nature of qualitative research, these conditions have been constantly used in the theoretical part and in the thesis’ Discussion. Within the framework of ‘reflexive modernity’, visitors may be invited as ‘laypeople’ by expert systems to have a word in the absence of ‘formulaic truths’ (Giddens 1994), although the way visitors identify themselves in relation to public knowledge institutions can be crucial to understand part of their participatory readiness. Visitors are also invited to become information literate (this happens *via* cultural participation, some examples of this invitation are presented in **Study IV**), although in turn, as information literate people, they may become more aware of the multiple practices of public knowledge institutions that provide or forbid them cultural participation (as shown in **Study V**).

With these considerations the dissertation analyses cultural participation, from the perspective of governmentality, in public knowledge institutions of Estonia, asking the following general research questions (see sub-questions in chapter 3):

How are visitors to public knowledge institutions governed by the staff of these institutions (**Study III**), and what are their responsive actions to governance (**Study II**, **Study III**)?

How are modes of cultural participation conceptualised and prioritised in Estonian public knowledge institutions (**Studies I–V**)?

The first research question is largely answered by an analysis of governmentality conducted in **Study III** that focused on various articulations that are used to govern the visitor, and corresponding modes of governmentality. **Study III** also reveals some points of resistance to governmental practices, yet it is complemented by **Study II** in which the nature of developments in public knowledge institutions was discussed (using at that time the term ‘memory institutions’).

The second research question explores modes of cultural participation in Estonian public knowledge institutions. First it focuses on underlying ideologies and discourses that shape cultural participation in Estonian public knowledge institutions (**Study I**, **Study III**, **Study IV**). Secondly, cultural participation is examined through the eyes of professionals working in Estonian public

knowledge institutions (**Study II**, **Study III**), exploring their understanding of cultural participation. Thirdly, the same research question is answered from the perspective of the visitor (**Study I**, **Study V**), paying attention to possibilities for cultural participation (**Study V**) and to modes of governmentality in public knowledge institutions (**Study I**).

# I THEORETICAL CONTEXT

The theoretical context will cover a wide array of themes related to cultural participation in public knowledge institutions. The theoretical context chapter starts with the introduction of notions of governmentality and power in Foucauldian terms in order to position the concept of cultural participation in public knowledge institutions and to show the aspects which help to make the work with visitors in public knowledge institutions a rational and a well-calculated enterprise. In addition, the explanation for the concept of governmentality is important in order to distinguish Foucault's earlier disciplining-centred work (Foucault [1975] 1991) from his later (Foucault [1978] 2007, Foucault [1979] 2008) approach on governmentality, and thus also to point to the inevitability of power relations in the communication processes in public knowledge institutions. Then, the concept of ideology is approached to bind the notion of governmentality to the institutional context of museums and libraries. The theoretical context chapter proceeds by introducing several conceptualisations of cultural participation, and eventually attends to preconditions for cultural participation.

## I.1 Governmentality

This thesis is predominantly informed by Foucault's approach on governmentality, later revisited and extended by researchers in governmentality studies (Gordon 1991; Dean 1999). As the concept of governmentality may be unfamiliar to some readers, and evoke various connotations, this concept is explained below, and then the usage of the framework of governmentality will be attended – why particularly this concept is applied in the dissertation and what the governmentality-related justifications and expectations of the thesis are.

The concept of governmentality can be interpreted in several ways, considering that 'governmental rationality', 'art(s) of government' are both notions used interchangeably by Foucault, as well as 'mentalities of government' (Dean 1999: 16). 'Governmentality studies' were the result of the legacy of Foucault's lectures on security, territory and population at the Collège de France in 1977–1978 (Foucault [1978] 2007)<sup>4</sup>, introducing concepts of pastoral power<sup>5</sup> and

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<sup>4</sup> As one can notice, some references to Foucault include both the year of publication of the original book and of the English version used for the thesis. This format of reference is added deliberately to provide more precise and easier understanding of transformations in Foucault's works, which have sometimes appeared from texts directly, and have sometimes been learned from the secondary literature about Foucault's legacy.

<sup>5</sup> Pastoral power "cannot be exercised without knowing the inside of people's minds" (Foucault 1983: 214), thus it can be related to 'confessional power' (Foucault [1976] 1990) which, as well as comprising hearing out the confessor involved several methods that gave it even scientific value. As we can later see in the case of pastoral power, the concept of confessional power spread, becoming "employed in a whole series of relationships" (Foucault [1976] 1990: 63).

governmentality, both involving techniques and practices influential on “the *conduct* of human beings” (Davidson 2007: XIX). During his later years, Foucault continued work on the art of government, and revisited the subject of governmentality during his other courses (Foucault ([1979] 2008; Foucault [1983] 2011), but the project of governmentality remained unfinished (Bröckling, Krassmann and Lemke 2011). As with Foucault’s approach to power<sup>6</sup>, his works on governmentality do not form a separate ‘theory’: rather it can be called “an analytics of power that focuses on the mentalities or rationalities of government as they operate in particular domains of social life” (Petersen 2003: 191).

During one of his early lectures on governmentality Foucault conceptualised the notion of ‘government’ as three related strands, of which particularly the first one informs the theoretical framework of the current thesis. First it refers to an “ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit very complex, power that has the population as its target” (Foucault [1978] 2007: 108). However, governing does not take place only at the level of population as one can also govern the self or the family (within this population), nor only in the field of politics as one might assume from the term ‘govern’, but also in medicine, education, sexuality, etc. Secondly, Foucault understood by governmentality the tendency of pre-eminence of the ‘government’ type of power, supported by “governmental apparatuses” (Foucault [1978] 2007: 108), and “series of knowledges” (Foucault [1978] 2007: 108). Thirdly, Foucault also considered by governmentality the process of ‘governmentalisation’, the birth of “the administrative state” (Foucault [1978] 2007: 108–109). From these strands unfold three important entities, the notions of knowledge, power, and subject, which have been in transformation throughout Foucault’s works.

The concept of knowledge, involving meanings of *connaissance* and *savoir*, was already in a central position in Foucault’s earlier work (Foucault [1969] 2002), whereas *savoir* was treated as closely related to ideologies, shaping *connaissance* (Foucault [1969] 2002), the particular knowledge in disciplines (Luks 2005). It is also *savoir* which Foucault referred to in one of his later (re-)definitions of power: when he treated power as a strategy working through “dispositions, manoeuvres, tactics, techniques, functionings” (Foucault [1975] 1991: 26). Through the strong relationship between power and knowledge, power relations were claimed to reach various societal levels (Foucault [1975] 1991) and disseminate into specific institutions: “schools, hospitals, prisons” (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983: 185) – this makes the power productive. In Foucault’s approach power was thus seen as omnipresent, “rooted in the system of social networks” (Foucault 1983: 224), and mechanisms of power as “intrinsic part of all [these] relations and, in a circular way, [are] both their effect and cause” (Foucault [1978] 2007: 2). This re-definition of power

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<sup>6</sup> Foucault’s approach to power is rather viewed as the ‘analytics of power’ (Foucault [1983] 2011: 42; Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983: 184) than a theory about power.

relations clearly rejected the “tradition which sees power only as constraint, negativity, and coercion” (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983: 129)”, and in this thesis, it is considered the basic concept with to approach both other ‘power-laden’ notions of governmentality, and ideology.

According to Foucault the omnipresence of power relations also affects the people to be governed or governing others, as power relations are considered to be intentional (based on the calculations (Foucault [1976] 1990)), but still non-subjective as “no one is there to have invented them” (Foucault [1976] 1990: 95), so that actors cannot capture “the overall effect” (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983: 187) of power relations. From the perspective of the current thesis is noteworthy that the approach to a subject’s intentionality experiences an important change through Foucault’s works. While in his earlier work Foucault focused on the “subject who knows, the objects to be known and the modalities of knowledge” (Foucault [1975] 1991: 27–28), he later emphasised the importance of freedom, “a field of possibilities in which several ways of behaving, several reactions and diverse comportments may be realized” (Foucault 1983: 221), so that freedom was treated as a prerequisite for power (Foucault 1983). Freedom as such becomes particularly relevant when we approach the notion of cultural participation, relating an individual’s intentionality to the possibility of realisation of a choice, yet it is somewhat less relevant to the knowledge of the individual.

An equivalent shift in Foucault’s approach to power relations, from a rather coercive ‘disciplining’ to the acts of ‘governing’ with reciprocal consequences, allows us to focus on the effective implementation or maintenance of power (Foucault 1983). Governing, then, does not eliminate power: on the contrary, power relations are as present as ever, but the approach to power relations is somewhat different. This shift in Foucault’s works did not take place overnight, it rather happened through the analysis of several technologies: e.g. the Panopticon, confessional power, and pastoral power. Compared to the Panopticon<sup>7</sup>, confessional power was seen by Foucault ([1976] 1990) as reaching further into the most private domains of life, into the very soul of the human being. In this way confessional power is related partly to pastoral power<sup>8</sup>; later within the concept of new pastoral power the notion of confession spread from religious practice to other relationships and took new forms (Foucault [1976] 1990). Yet, as confessional power plays a part in the fields (justice and education) which Foucault excluded from the approach to pastoral power because of the methods used for subjection or training (Foucault [1978] 2007: 165) in those fields, it does not completely overlap with the notion of

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<sup>7</sup> The Panopticon refers to a technique in which discipline through the constant *possibility* of control results in the subject acting as if (s)he is indeed controlled by someone else’s disciplinary gaze (Foucault [1975] 1991).

<sup>8</sup> Pastoral power is aimed at salvation “in the next world” (Foucault 1983: 214), if necessary, sacrifices are demanded from the power-holder (pastor). It is concerned with the well-being of ‘every lamb in the flock’, and thus implies knowledge of people’s thoughts (Foucault 1983).

pastoral power. In addition, the “dark twin” (Foucault [1976] 1990: 59) of confession, torture, has no place in the shepherd-flock relationship of pastoral power.

The later-developed concept ‘new pastoral power’<sup>9</sup> meets particularly well both the goal of governing certain activities on the basis of contemporary society, and the aim to govern individuals. This pastoral power provides people with “health, well-being [...], security, protection against accidents” (Foucault 1983: 215), involves a variety of institutions, and considers the development of people, both as population and individual. Some traits of new pastoral power may sound familiar from the concept of governmentality presented at the beginning of this chapter. The provision of well-being and security with reference to salvation, hints that the art of government might also work on its subjects not only by keeping in mind the well-being of the population in general, but also considering values that are interesting for the members of the population. Therefore, the term ‘governance’ is applied in this dissertation by using the definition which embraces both the knowledge and power applied to subjects to be governed, and also the intentionality and interests of these subjects.

For this enterprise, a definition proposed by Dean (1999) has been applied: “[G]overnment is any more or less calculated and rational activity, undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge, that seeks to shape conduct by working through our desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs, for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects and outcomes.” (Dean 1999: 11). Dean’s approach to governmentality is in fact quite in line with Foucault’s later approach to subject position and analytics of power (1983), which in turn becomes comparable to works of Giddens (1979; 1994). By drawing on the works of these two authors, and also comparisons of their approaches (Carpentier 1999; Tucker jr 1998), several similarities, activating links between this doctoral thesis’s cover chapter and **Study III** and **Study V**, can be presented.

First, both Foucault and Giddens admit that the power is exercised (Foucault [1975] 1991) or “instantiated in action” (Giddens 1979: 91), but not possessed. Secondly, with some disagreement on the nature of conflicts or resistance, both see relations of power as an inherent part of social relationships (Foucault [1976] 1990; Tucker jr 1998). Thirdly, both authors treat power as productive (“linked to an intentional but unsubjective discourse” (Carpentier 1999: online)) or generative (“linked to agency” (Carpentier 1999: online)), and also restrictive. Fourth, despite the knowledge of every actor about “the conditions of reproduction of the society” (Giddens 1979: 5) there is still no guarantee that Giddensian social actors always capture the overall effects of power relations (this possibility has been clearly eliminated by Foucault). Finally, there is also a

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<sup>9</sup> ‘New’ hints that he borrowed the concept itself from Christianity, and now conveys it to the working of the modern state.

noticeable similarity in Foucault's and Giddens's approaches to experts or expert systems. Unlike Giddens, Foucault does not use these expressions, yet when he speaks of the formation of knowledge and discourses, he also suggests focusing on who is speaking, on what the institutional sites are that make knowledge possible (explained in chapter 1.1.1), and on the position of the speaker (Foucault [1969] 2002). In the approaches of both Foucault and Giddens, the speaking subject is favourably positioned in social relations (Foucault [1969] 2002) being an "‘authority’ in relation to the other" (Giddens 1994: 84). Secondly, the position of the speaking subject is "defined by the situation" (Foucault [1969] 2002: 57), and is related to positions that the "subject can occupy in the information networks" (Foucault [1969] 2002: 58)<sup>10</sup>, which is also the case when we talk about the level of specialisation of an expert (Giddens 1994). These similarities in the works of Foucault and Giddens have supported Dean's (1999) definition of 'governmentality' in this thesis, and have clearer linkages between the cover chapter and **Studies III** and **V**.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Foucault's work, and his courses about governmentality in particular, has given rise to a corpus of works that can be called by the common denominator 'governmentality studies'. Foucault approached government not in its narrow, political sense, but rather, considering omnipresent power relations, in very various domains and levels: concerning medicine, education, sexuality, etc., and from governing the self to governing the population. Therefore it is not so surprising that studies on governmentality have gradually shifted focused from the 'political' domain and societal level (Burchell, Gordon and Miller 1991) to other fields and levels of analysis.

So far, authors attempting to map works in the fields of 'governmentality studies' have remained cautious about mentioning a 'governmentality school', which has not appeared in "any clear-cut sense" (Donzelot and Gordon 2008: 51). 'Governmentality studies' allows the idea to remain more abstract, although it also risks losing any overview of the trends in governmentality literature. There are several works in which authors have mapped 'governmentality studies' on the basis of the disciplines (Donzelot and Gordon 2008), subjects of inquiry (Miller and Rose 2008), and methodological perspectives that may inform the studies (Bröckling, Krassmann and Lemke 2011), all of which have their well-considered vantage points. For the current thesis, a mainly discipline-based approach is applied to point to the research that has been inspired by Foucault's governmentality approach and has eventually found its way into museology and library-related studies.

In their mapping, Donzelot and Gordon (2008) point to new, original fields of research, like the 'genealogy of management' (Miller), and biotechnologies (Rabinow and Rose). They also mention researchers (Tully, Gordon, Osborn, etc.) who have compared Foucault's work on governmentality to "certain currents of English-language history of political thought" (Donzelot and Gordon

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<sup>10</sup> An example about subject positions in museum context is provided in chapter 1.1.2.3.

2008: 52). In addition to observations made by Donzelot and Gordon (2008) it is possible to detect emerging schools like the ‘colonial governmentality’ school (Nichols 2010), and the ‘geo-governmentality’ school (Elden and Crampton 2007), which also draw on Foucault’s work on governmentality. Eventually, the existing disciplines, including media and communication studies (Flew 1997), political science (Bröckling, Krassmann and Lemke 2011), cultural studies (Bratich, Packer, McCarthy 2003), and many more, have benefitted from a Foucauldian approach to governmentality and made their own contribution to the field. In many cases governmentality-related concepts and approaches have been found useful even though the researchers themselves “would not place their objects of study under the sign of ‘governmentalities’” (Rose 1999: 9).

In many cases, governmentality analysis has also been applied keeping in mind the public knowledge institutions in relation to knowledge (e.g. Hooper-Greenhill 1992; Bennett 1995; Graham 2012). These examples show the wide applicability of government analysis, taking as their basic assumption Foucault’s approach to the productive nature of power, and also distinguishing themselves by allocating more emphasis to agency. Governmentality studies have enabled researchers to take a step back and gaze at the subject matter (museums, libraries) from a distance, “on the basis of something external and general” (Foucault [1978] 2007: 117), while at the same time understanding preconceptions, alternatives, “possibilities for doing things otherwise” (Dean 1999: 37). Yet the purpose of the thesis is not about revealing hidden strategies or constructing explanatory models (this is the point where Foucault differentiates himself from Weber), rather the thesis aims to analyse “actual programs of action and reform” (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983: 132). Eventually, this also explains the rationale of the application of the governmentality approach in this thesis.

### **1.1.1 Ideological institutions in governmentality studies**

The previous subchapter focused on Foucault’s approach to knowledge and the subject, and their relations with various types of power in his analysis of governmentality. This subchapter will focus more on institutions and their role in producing and maintaining ideologies, allowing an analysis of the role of public knowledge institutions in the context of governmentality. However, both Foucault and Giddens have treated ideology either as something distorted or biased – or put in Mannheim’s words, following the “particular conception of ideology” (Mannheim [1929] 1985: 55) – which works in the interests of a hegemonic group or class (Giddens 1979; Foucault [1969] 2002), thus having a clear impact from the Marxist perspective<sup>11</sup>. A somewhat more ‘neutral’

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<sup>11</sup> According to Mannheim ([1929] 1985), “[I]t was Marxist theory which first achieved a fusion of the particular and total conceptions of ideology” (Hegelianism and ideology as such), emphasising the “role of class position and class interests in thought” (Mannheim [1929] 1985: 74). In Marxist thought, ideology is thus derived from various forms of false consciousness (Tucker 1972), which let people see reality through ideological lenses, the image appearing “upside down as in a *camera obscura*” (Marx and Engels 1985: 25).



approach to ideology, in Mannheim's words the "total conception of ideology", means the "characteristics and composition of the total structure of the mind" (Mannheim [1929] 1985: 56) of an epoch or group. This approach was later followed by several scholars, e.g. treating ideology as "the whole complex of signifying practices and symbolic processes in a particular society" (Eagleton 1991: 28 cited by Budd 2001: 320), or, by considering the impact of ideologies on social cognition, as the "basis of the social representations shared by members of a group" (van Dijk 1998: 8). This understanding of ideology does not entirely remove the possible preferences of those who put ideologies to work, referring still to a relationship between knowledge and power, and is in coherence with the notion of governmentality as explained above.

As stated in the previous subchapter, Foucault has suggested that analysing knowledge and discursive formation should involve both the 'speaking subject' and the subject position, as well as the institutional site (Foucault [1969] 2002). In addition to place, practice, and conditions for laboratory experiments, the institutional site is also framed by the "documentary field" (Foucault [1969] 2002: 57) encompassing the whole variety of published or documented records (e.g. books, observations, case-histories, statistical information) necessary for work at a particular institution. Foucault mentions the importance of the document, which continues to increase, while the value of knowledge obtained on site (in the hospital, for example), constantly seems to decrease. Similar observations have been made by Giddens (1994) whose notion of disembedding expertise is "based upon impersonal principles, which can be set out and developed without regard to context" (Giddens 1994: 85). The informational field, as seen in this thesis, is related thus to various forms of information from tacit know-how to documented records of an institution's work, not only in a single institution but in a network of institutions with similar and perhaps also shared interests and values.

The institutions in this thesis are viewed as "social structures" that are "composed of cultured-cognitive<sup>12</sup>, normative, and regulative elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life" (Scott 2001: 48). The definition provided by Scott (2001) suggests the shared and possibly taken-for-granted meanings between the members of institutions, and allows focus on values and norms. In addition, this definition enables us to point to rules, laws and sanctions that provide the regulative frameworks within which the institution functions.

The social aspect of the institutions binds the notion of institution to ideology: following van Dijk's (1998) approach to ideology, "institutions or organizations are the 'practical' or social counterpart of ideologies" (van Dijk 1998: 186), helping to organise "social practices and social actors" (van Dijk 1998: 186) – which thus allows them to be called 'ideological'. The range of definitions of ideological institutions may vary among several types (van Dijk

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<sup>12</sup> In the rest of the book the author uses term "cultural-cognitive" (e.g. Scott 2001: 52), so "cultured-cognitive" may be a spelling error in this quote.

1998) to the majority of public institutions (Althusser 1970), thus seemingly reducing the governance capability of some institutions. However, governmentality works upon the ensemble beyond the institutions (Foucault [1978] 2007) that were at the central position in Althusser's theory of the state apparatuses. As Bröckling, Krassmann and Lemke (2011) also recall, instead of command and control "it seems more effective to guide individuals '*through* their freedom'", and create "lines of force that make certain forms of behaviour more probable than others" (Bröckling, Krassmann and Lemke 2011: 13). So, although the governmentality approach allows us to revisit institutions as sites where governance is put into practice, it also calls for us to analyse more subtle mechanisms of power, less visible than the methods used for discipline (Althusser 1970, Foucault [1975] 1991). By considering these differences of foci in Althusser's approach to the state apparatuses and Foucault's work on governmentality, this thesis proceeds to focus on two particular public knowledge institutions, museum and libraries, as sites of governance.

### **1.1.2 Governmentality and public knowledge institutions**

As was shown in the previous sub-chapter, the governmentality analysis is not to be conducted *merely* on the basis of institutions or ideologies, but rather by analysing "regimes of practices"<sup>13</sup> (Foucault [1980] 1991: 75). These regimes of practice can be found in multiple institutions, so that "borrowings across institutions" (Dean 1999: 21) may appear, and even "borrowings across these regimes themselves" (Dean 1999: 21). Among the variety of authorities and agencies that can be said to be "caring, administering, counselling, curing, punishing, and educating" (Dean 1999: 21), public knowledge institutions provide visitors clues about their identities, access to information, etc. Thus, museums and libraries will be analysed as possible places where practices of governance bloom (**Study III**).

To do so, some attention will be first paid to public knowledge institutions as Foucault approached them – as heterotopias (Foucault [1984] 1998; Lord 2006). Secondly, the myth of neutrality is discussed, drawing on accounts of several critical authors (e.g. Brown and Davis-Brown 1998; Budd 2001; Lewis 2008). Thirdly, some of the works in museum and library studies (e.g. Hooper-Greenhill 1992; Bennett 1995), directly informed by the analytics of governmentality, will be revisited.

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<sup>13</sup> According to Foucault, regimes of practices are understood "as places where what is said and what is done, rules imposed and reasons given, the planned and the taken for granted meet and interconnect" (Foucault [1980] 1991: 75).

### 1.1.2.1 Public knowledge institutions as heterotopias

In addition to hospitals, asylums, and prisons, public knowledge institutions occupied a small yet noteworthy spot in Foucault's works. He mentioned libraries and museums as examples of heterotopias in the sense that "heterotopias are connected with temporal discontinuities [*découpages du temps*]" (Foucault [1984] 1998: 182), whereas museums and libraries, the heterotopias of time, accumulate time indefinitely. In particular, he sees the museum and library as heterotopias "that are characteristic of Western culture in the nineteenth century" (Foucault [1984] 1998: 182), giving perhaps in this way a hint for Bennett (1995).

Later, Lord (2006) discussed Foucault's approach to museums as heterotopias, because in her opinion Foucault gave the impression of museums as something negative. She questions the view of museums as heterotopias on the basis of the afore-mentioned principle<sup>14</sup> because the accumulative function of museums and libraries may predominantly refer to the relationship between public knowledge institutions and objects accumulated, although the accumulative function may leave other crucial functions of public knowledge institutions largely untouched. Thus Lord (2006) points to the representation and interpretation roles of museums. On the one hand, representation allows museums to "display the ways in which objects are related to words, names, and concepts" (Lord 2006: 6), while on the other hand, interpretation means the "relation between things and the words to describe them" (Lord 2006: 5). By pointing to the interpretative and representative roles of museums, Lord subjectifies them so that instead of emphasising their accumulative nature (not so very different from a sponge capable of absorbing water) we can analyse museums as authorities or agencies which are capable of governing their visitors.

In her work, Lord (2006) has focussed on museums, but libraries have undergone similar transformations. These transformations cannot be described as completely overlapping for the philosophical foundations of public museums and libraries are somewhat different, although they originate from the same modernist epoch and are influenced by determinist thinking. Museum displays have been said to be organised in "accordance with the requirements of an evolutionary historicism" (Bennett 1995: 39) that can be seen as "a form of determinism" (Budd 2001: 62). The foundations of library work have been

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<sup>14</sup> In total, Foucault ([1984] 1998) distinguishes six principles to define heterotopias: 1) every human culture establishes heterotopias, 2) over the course of history some heterotopias do not cease to exist, yet "operate in a very different way" (Foucault [1984] 1998: 180), 3) heterotopias can "juxtapose in a single real place several emplacements that are incompatible in themselves" (Foucault [1984] 1998: 181), such places are theatre, cinema, and garden, for example, 4) "heterotopias are connected with temporal discontinuities" (Foucault [1984] 1998: 182), thus they can be called 'heterochronias', 5) heterotopias "always presuppose a system of opening and closing that isolates them and makes them penetrable" (Foucault [1984] 1998: 183) – that is, in order to enter heterotopia, certain rituals need to be passed first, 6) heterotopias either "create a space of illusion that denounces all real space" (Foucault [1984] 1998: 184) or create space that is as perfect as flawed is ours.

informed by “deterministic scientism” (Budd 2001: 15), “of which positivism is one incarnation” (Budd 2001: 15). Another researcher informed by Foucauldian ideas, Radford, has stated that “[T]he dominant image of the modern research library is a depository of objective knowledge” (Radford 1992: 412) so that according to the dominant positivist viewpoint we can structure “the library’s role in terms of two ideals: access and neutrality” (Radford 1992: 412). The latter, neutrality, is kept in mind in respect of “the knowledge it classifies and makes accessible” (Radford 1992: 412).

Both notions of access and neutrality have been basic concepts moulding codes of ethics of librarians in many countries, and have also been discussed by the author of the current thesis in one of her first published works (Lepik 2004). This positivist viewpoint is, however, challenged by the enormous amount of information that demands “interpretation, filtering, and evaluation” (Anthes 1985: 57 cited by Radford 1998: 630), but which also represents the order of things. The late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries were a particularly fertile time to develop several universal classification systems (Rafferty 2001) which are still used in many libraries worldwide<sup>15</sup>. Yet even the classification systems, reflecting in their ideal principle the system of knowledge, may reflect either their purpose or the worldview of the deviser of the scheme (Rafferty 2001), and are therefore “always constructed, ‘ideal’ formations rather than ‘representative’ of the ‘natural’ world, and historically constituted and contingent” (Rafferty 2001). Recalling the principles of heterotopias we can see that classification schemes as ‘ideal’ formations used in libraries contribute directly to the treatment of libraries according to the sixth principle of heterotopias (creating space that is as perfect as ours is flawed).

To conclude, despite their somewhat differing, yet also common philosophical foundations, both libraries and museums do not merely accumulate objects from past times, but actively interpret and represent social reality, and can be thus treated as heterotopias.

### 1.1.2.2 The myth of the neutral institution

In the previous subchapter, some ideas of library neutrality were already introduced, touching on the ‘neutral’ knowledge that allows objective classification of information and provides everyone equally good access to materials regardless of the origins of these materials or the origins of the patron – the latter aspect conveys an equally powerful meaning of freedom. “Intellectual freedom and the freedom of access to information” (ALA Code of Professional Ethics 2008), particularly, inform the neutrality of libraries and library practitioners, giving the notion of neutrality an entirely positive connotation (Lewis 2008).

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<sup>15</sup> In Estonia, for example, Universal Decimal Classification (UDC) developed by Paul Otlet and Henry La Fontaine, and initially published in 1904–1907 (Slavic 2008) has been used both to classify publications in card, and now online, catalogues, and to structure the shelves in publicly accessed reading rooms.

The myth of neutral libraries is therefore quite in line with Foucault's definition of libraries and museums as heterotopias accumulating time, as tasks supporting accumulation do not in themselves seem to pose challenging issues for neutrality. Accordingly we may assume that the pervasive ideology of the neutrality of libraries becomes a grand preconception for librarians, rendering the analysis of neutrality obsolete for library professionals.

In the context of museums, an equally influential document, the "ICOM Code of Ethics", points to the educational role of museums as they have "particular responsibilities to all for the care, accessibility and interpretation of primary evidence collected and held in their collections" (ICOM 2006: 6). As we can see here, the Code of Ethics contains similar notions of neutrality in respect to museum-goers and primary evidence collected. The true 'objectivity' of the museum, however, lies in its classificatory activities. Like libraries, museums have also needed systems to organise and represent their collections rationally, thus deserving the nickname "Classifying House" (Whitehead 1970, 1971 cited by Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 4). The rationality of museums, often self-evident and needing no explanation (Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 4) has been considered "universal in scope and universally intelligible" (Lord 2006: 2).

The above paragraphs have shown the vitality of the myth of ideologically neutral public knowledge institutions, and only relatively recently authors have started to challenge or question it, sometimes by applying Foucauldian analysis of governmentality (Kapitzke 2003, also Bennett 1995 from time to time mentions governance of libraries). Some authors point to the positivist mindset of libraries (Radford 1992, 1998; Rafferty 2001; Kapitzke 2003, etc.), others correct their colleagues stating that deterministic scientism (Budd 2001) has informed libraries for centuries, or analyse ideologies at work in libraries in the context of "contemporary liberal, pluralist, capitalist democracy" (Jensen 2008: 89), and even relate the 'neutrality' of librarians to notions of indifference and passivity (Good 2008).

Indeed, as some authors (Budd 2001; Hooper-Greenhill 1992) assure us, the *raison d'être* of public knowledge institutions or philosophical investigation of the nature of knowledge in these settings is very much taken for granted against the background of everyday activities. The practitioners' focus on action (Budd 2001) and lack of space and time needed for critical reflection often show it as an "unproductive activity" (Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 3). Yet the reflective analysis of the foundations of practical actions "is not an abstract exercise, but is intrinsically connected to the nature of practice and is aimed at discovering how we act within our profession" (Budd 2001: 8). Taking a step back from everyday tasks and attempting to look at routine practices of the staff of public knowledge institutions from the 'outside' (also done by Tatsi (2013)) is much in line with analysing governance practices. This analysis might yield not only theoretical, but also practical knowledge about managing public knowledge institutions in rapidly changing societal conditions (**Study II**) which in their turn are about to transform libraries and museums. The notion of 'rapid change', however, has been evading the literature on libraries and museums since the late

1980s and the number of publications looking for solutions to it seems not yet to have decreased (e.g. Smalls 1985; Maness 2006; Amano 2011).

In addition, the neutrality of museums and libraries is related to the way we perceive notions of power and ideology. As mentioned earlier, there are various ways to define ideology, some more value-laden, some less. Considering ‘neutral’ definitions of ideology allows us to analyse the “functioning of ideas as part of our social lives and social interaction” (Budd 2001: 320) without treating museum or library professionals as ‘tools of hegemonic discourse’.

Nevertheless, depicting techniques of power at work in the service of an ideology in a modern authoritarian and totalitarian state (Ryan 1981; Knutson 2007), and spotting these in libraries and museums, has so far been the most common practice. After the collapse of the Soviet Union there were probably many Estonian library or museum professionals who could sense or even see the “end of ideology” at their institutions without emphasising class conflict, which would focus on the situation of the proletariat or the speedy building of Socialism (Astel 2009: 192). Seemingly, public knowledge institutions could take a neutral stance, representing historical events as they ‘really’ were, serving the community of visitors, providing them with objective knowledge organised on the basis of neutral classificatory systems.

The “ideological or political dimension of micro-processes of archival and curatorial work” (Brown and Davis-Brown 1998) has been discussed in the museum context, although it generally seems in museums that the image of the neutrality of the institution is not so much at stake as in libraries, for the museums are known to shape “public perceptions of (nation’s) histories, identities, cultures and politics” (Mason 2007: 1). The current thesis revisits Hooper-Greenhill (1992) and Bennett (1995), who have drawn on Foucault to analyse the governing roles of museums (Bennett 1995) or the changes in museum episteme – from a disciplinary to a governing establishment (Hooper-Greenhill 1992).

To conclude, instead of disguising or denying the impact of various ideologies on museums and libraries, both of these public knowledge institutions can benefit from clear recognition of governance techniques (visited in **Study III**) supported by one ideology or other (as shown in **Study I, III, IV**). The following subchapter introduces the ways in which governance is put into use in museums and libraries.

### 1.1.2.3 Governance practices in museums and libraries

The following chapter mainly draws upon Bennett’s (1995) work, considering equivalent aspects of governmentality both in museums and libraries.

First, the purpose of museums and the contents of museums have historically been to reshape “general norms of social behaviour” (Bennett 1995: 6, see also **Study III**). These practices of governance are observable in the context of both public libraries and museums as it is their open nature that makes practices of governmentality ‘resonate’. When earlier ‘cabinets of curiosities’ or private

libraries could function in terms of the self governance of the owner, in public museums and libraries governance practices were performed on their visitors, a remarkable number of people within the overall population. The impact of regimes of practices aimed at shaping society at the family level (Foucault 1978 cited by Bennett 1995) was even larger when we consider the multiplicity of public institutions working for the same purpose (Bennett 1995), well in accordance with the logics of governance. Museums and libraries were thus just a few of the many settings that according to suggestions (Bennett 1995: 18) could ‘heal’ the population and cherish the progress of civilisation (Elias ([1939] 1994). The social diseases that needed to be healed by museums and libraries ranged from poor discipline and drunkenness to economic and political radicalism (Black 2005), reaching beyond the impact of public institutions. Thus, self-governing aspects were put into use: while some of the advocates of ‘civilised society’ attempted to restrict the regulations concerning ale-houses, for example, others aimed to produce “individuals who did not *want* to besot themselves in ale-houses” (Bennett 1995: 20). Thus, the museum had to provide a space for learning and diffusing civilised forms of behaviour (Bennett 1995: 24).

Secondly, Bennett introduces ideas of museums as places designed to provide space with governing impacts, that is, “the techniques of behaviour management, developed in museums” (Bennett 1995: 7). In addition to the Foucauldian concept of the Panopticon, Bennett mentions ‘scopic reciprocity’ (Bennett 1995: 51) in which visitors start to inspect each other, and themselves act as “a regulatory resource” (Bennett 1995: 55). In some cases, it is the place itself that is used to regulate people in motion: either via routes, colonnades or “elevated vantage points they offer stops an assembly of people becoming a crowd” (Bennett 1995: 55), thus making the action of the people more easily observable, and eventually letting the crowd itself become the spectacle (Bennett 1995).

The third trait, the museum as a “space of representation” (Bennett 1995: 24) shaping people has already been introduced above by drawing on the work of Lord (2006). By drawing on Foucault (1970), Bennett elaborates how the constructing of man in a museum is “in a relation to both subject and object to the knowledge it organizes” (Bennett 1995: 7) as “the archactor and metanarrator of a self-referring narrative” (Bennett 1995: 38). Part of this representativeness is already embedded in the first characteristics of the museum, the civilising aspect, for in order to civilise, some good examples must be provided so that audiences can see where the evolution of mankind could reach. Here, a parallel can be drawn from Foucault’s concept of heterotopias because by the accumulation of time, museums simultaneously reveal the “evolutionary development” (Bennett 1995: 43) – rather than rare curiosities – of the order of things. Of course, in addition to the evolution of a nation, the progress and/or ideals of technology, democracy, liberty, knowledge, etc., could also be introduced.

As one of the aspects of representation emerging with the birth of public museums, the notion of subject position should also be introduced within the framework of museum studies. In line with Foucault’s approach to subject

position ((Foucault [1969] 2002) explained in chapter 1.1), Hooper-Greenhill (1992) has pointed to several subject positions in and around museums. Historically, the subject positions *around* the museum have been used to show someone in better light. In this thesis, subject positions *in* museums occupy an important role. The subject positions of “expert/owner and student/visitor” (Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 65) are probably the most general ones, dividing the roles of varying subjects in a museum, but both subject positions have been gradually divided into more specific subject positions. The expert positions include all kinds of museum professions, curators, producers of knowledge “through the compilation of catalogues, inventories, and installations” (Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 190), and positions related to marketing. In a similar manner, the visitor’s subject position includes “‘learning’ subject” (Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 214), and the position of customer. As Hooper-Greenhill (1992) points out, the subject positions of expert and visitor allowed a private-public division to be drawn in the museum – working spaces for the professionals and spaces for the visitor to consume cultural products (Hooper-Greenhill 1992). This aspect might prove to be particularly important as it positions the visitor in respect of a museum or library not only via purposefully planned cultural products but also through articulations that are used to communicate with the visitor (**Study III**). As stated at the beginning of chapter 1.1.2, public knowledge institutions can be some of the sites that provide knowledge of the self-identity and issues met in everyday life. Thus, the Hooper-Greenhill (1992) notion of subject position matches the role of expert in contemporary society (Giddens 1994).

Governmentality in public knowledge institutions is vital not only in the case of early public museums and libraries, but also in the contemporary case. The values that are still considered universal and techniques of governing seen as still relevant exist side by side in museums and libraries, which represent structures of knowledge that are relevant today, and also govern visitors in virtual settings. Governance in public knowledge institutions has been adaptive despite the changes in education and modes of learning (Hooper-Greenhill 2007: 13). The guidance received from the libraries is no longer so institution-centred, reaching beyond the usage of library collections. The question is not so much in distinguishing right from wrong answers, but in solving problems within the framework of particular practices, and in becoming empowered in the community (Lupton and Bruce 2010). Former discipline has been supplanted (although not entirely) by developments that have introduced the notions of marketing and participation, thereby allowing the tracing of new modes of governance (which have been analysed in **Study III**). As these modes of governing also inform varying forms of cultural participation, which either foster or hinder cultural consumption or cultural production, the next sub-chapter is dedicated to participatory practices in public knowledge institutions.



## 1.2 Participatory practices in public knowledge institutions

The following sub-chapter explains cultural participation in public knowledge institutions. To do so, the governing nature of participatory activities is considered, treating various modes of cultural participation as rational choices that are made in public knowledge institutions. It is common to treat rational choices as the outcome of the thinking of individuals. Yet at the level of public knowledge institutions the rationale behind cultural participation stems from ideologies, philosophical foundations of these institutions, and the aspects of governance as explained in previous subchapters. Cultural participation, focusing on the relationship between visitors and public knowledge institutions, is predominantly tied to the communicative function of museums and libraries, hence it is treated as one of multiple domains of governmentality within these institutions. The relationship between visitors and public knowledge institutions has been shaped by earlier governance processes that allow both cultural consumption and cultural production. This relationship also contains certain contradictions. As we will see in varying approaches to cultural participation, fostering particular modes of cultural participation can increase the agency of cultural participants, making the consequences of governance practices more unpredictable, and in theory, even making cultural participation work against governing.

As is the case for notions of power or ideology, there is no commonly accepted definition of cultural participation or culture. Several cultural theorists (e.g. Hall 1997; Williams 1976) have admitted the immense difficulties and plurality of ways of defining culture, pointing sometimes to the significance of acknowledging the range and overlap of meanings of this concept (Williams 1976). This thesis conceptualises the notion of culture by considering those of its aspects related to cultural participation (see below) in public knowledge institutions by drawing on definitions of culture presented by Williams (1963), Bocock (1996), Hall (1997), and also Foucault (Foucault [1982] 2005 cited by McGushin 2007). By taking into account the particular context, the thesis inevitably prefers certain ways of defining culture to others, yet this does not mean undervaluing other definitions. In sum, within the framework of this thesis culture is treated as follows:

1. Firstly, in terms of producing or consuming culture, it is seen as “**the general body of the arts**” (Williams 1963: 16) which can be preserved, classified, made accessible, etc., by public knowledge institutions, and then consumed, interpreted, mixed, etc., by visitors.
2. Secondly, culture “**is concerned with the production and the exchange of meanings**” (Hall 1997), so that these meanings become “**shared by particular nations, groups, classes, periods**” (Bocock 1996: 164) – this aspect is related to the previous one in terms of interpreting the ‘general body of arts’, and also to the meanings related to public knowledge institutions and cultural participation – how are these places seen in terms of cultural

participation, what is the meaning of a museum or a library, what forms of cultural participation these institutions foster or hinder?

3. Thirdly, to analyse cultural participation in terms of governmentality, the power relations in the field of culture have to be considered. McGushin (2007), by drawing on Foucault's work (Foucault [1982] 2005), points to the **"systematization and hierarchy of values"** (McGushin 2007: 104), **the positing of values as universal, regulated access to those values, and the fact that these values must be able to be "taught, validated, elaborated"** (McGushin 2007: 104). This approach reveals that culture is not as easily accessible as could be expected on the basis of the previously mentioned definitions, and allows us to ask in the governmentality approach how this highly selective and complicated process is put into practice.

Cultural participation itself has been defined as "an umbrella term to denote activities of individuals and groups in the making and using of cultural products and processes" (Murray 2005: 32). Rigney (1993) has been more specific, explaining "the productive and receptive roles which individuals play in the cultural process" through "producing, transmitting, and conserving cultural knowledge" (Rigney 1993: 2). In these approaches, in defining cultural participation equal weight has been given both to usage and reception (in the following pages covered by the term 'cultural consumption'), and production or manufacture (presented as 'cultural production') of cultural products or knowledge – thus these definitions of cultural participation correspond to some extent to the first two afore-mentioned aspects of culture. The third, power-related meaning of culture is more thoroughly discussed below.

No matter how cultural participation is viewed, it is very often subjected to culture-related governance practices. Participating in the cultural life of the community is declared to be a human right (Universal Declaration of Human Rights), and the notion of cultural participation has found its way into cultural policies (Murray 2005). As a mode of governance, cultural participation is seen as increasing social cohesion and contributing to the social capital of the people, fostering cultural diversity, and ultimately helping to measure 'cultural citizenship' in terms of "dedication to the cultural and a sense of cultural responsibility" (Murray 2005: 40). Particularly in the Western world, the "ideology of democratizing culture that stems from the implicit or explicit cultural policies of the 1960s" (Pronovost 2002: 2) has informed the need to conduct surveys about cultural participation. Democratizing culture, or adapting a "model of participatory democracy in cultural experience" (Murray 2005: 32) has, however, lead to the problem of "under-theorization of cultural in participatory democracy" (Murray 2005: 32), as it is hard to notice ideas from the cultural domain leaking towards democratic theory. Therefore, it may eventually be tempting to consider the ideas of democratic theory as normative, and accordingly apply these notions in the cultural domain. However, by considering the afore-mentioned aspects of culture it is possible to argue that if we would view participatory democracy from the perspective of culture, as a set of

practices, the problem of under-theorisation mentioned by Murray (2005) could be reduced. Moreover, democratic theory in this case can be seen as one of traditions that influences views to cultural participation, without appropriating it exclusively.

In this chapter, the notion of cultural participation has been briefly explained by answering several questions: What does cultural participation mean? Why is it important? How can we learn more about cultural participation? The chapter proceeds, considering two important approaches to cultural participation: **the sociological view**, treating cultural participation mainly in terms of cultural consumption; and **the political view**, paying attention to cultural participation as cultural production. Both of these approaches have their strengths and weaknesses, therefore in this thesis neither one nor the other view is prioritised. The subsequent subchapters are structured, initially taking a look at the impact of these traditions on the notion of cultural participation, and then elaborating on the topic of cultural participation in public knowledge institutions.

### **1.2.1 Cultural participation as cultural consumption (the sociological view)**

This sub-chapter will first introduce an approach that sees cultural participation as cultural consumption and then move on to the view of cultural participation as cultural production. Arguably, the most explicit understanding of it can be gained from reviews introducing the background of studies that have explored cultural participation.

Studies of cultural participation as cultural consumption reveal two significant transformations. First, the understanding of what counts as culture has gradually changed. According to Pronovost (2002), who focussed on surveys of cultural participation in France, the United States of America, and Quebec, this change has been twofold due to the varying starting points, i.e. what was defined as cultural participation in earlier surveys, and because of the broadening approach to culture. It may appear (especially for Estonian readers) that the two countries and the province mentioned above are culturally similar, yet even in the case of this limited collection of geographical entities Pronovost (2002) points to the “different cultural universes” (Pronovost 2002: 4). This is manifest particularly in the question of what is to be studied as cultural participation. While the first surveys in the USA “referred mainly to elite culture” (Pronovost 2002: 3) – visiting museums, performances of ballet, opera, etc. – surveys from France and Quebec also included questions on “popular entertainment, festivals and even sports” (Pronovost 2002: 3). Over the course of time, the latest studies have also included questions on leisure activities, media consumption, and popular, scientific and technological culture. Well in line with the work of Pronovost (2002), Lõhmus, Lauristin, Siirman (2009) refer to sociological studies conducted in Estonia in the 1970s and 1980s that also show the “importance of ‘high’ culture as a value for the vast majority of the Estonian

population” (Lõhmus, Lauristin, Siirman 2009: 76). Later surveys, however, also embrace media consumption and leisure activities (Mina Meedia Maailm 2008; Mina Meedia Maailm 2011).

The second transformation in surveys about cultural participation introduced concerns about the extent/depth/intensity of participation. As Pronovost (2002) has pointed, the surveys hardly captured “varying degrees of involvement” (Pronovost 2002: 4) in cultural activities. An attempt has been made to solve this problem, at least to some extent, in the guidelines issued by the UNESCO Statistical Institute (Morrone 2006). Three fundamental types of participating behaviours have been identified within various domains (such as artistic and monumental heritage, libraries, museums, books, performing arts, etc., involving press and audio-visual media):

- a. attendance/reception,
- b. performance/production by amateurs,
- c. interaction (Morrone 2006: 6).

The form of attendance/reception can be use of libraries, reading a book, go to a concert, etc. Performance/production by amateurs includes being an amateur collector, singing, writing as an amateur, etc. According to the examples, interaction is defined as using e-books and paying virtual visits to various exhibitions or collections, yet Morrone (2006) also mentions the “new concept of interaction, a concept that puts in light a higher level of possibility for the receiving subject to change the forms and the contents of the material received from the source” (Morrone 2006: 7). The notion of interaction, as described by Morrone (2006), thus entails the potential of cultural production, possibly pre-saging further debate on the scope and intensity of cultural participation as cultural consumption. Commenting on existing guidelines and comparing European surveys to those of New Zealand, Thailand and Uganda, Morrone (2006) proposes new domains “that have to be taken into consideration are: language, sports and games and tradition” (Morrone 2006: 34). The concept of interaction can also be strongly linked to the “convergence between the producers and receivers” (Carpentier 2010b: 54), and thus the emergence of notions of ‘prosumer’ or ‘produser’ (e.g. Bruns 2007) so that cultural consumption becomes connected to the concept of cultural production<sup>16</sup>.

This development introduces a peculiar twilight zone between cultural consumption and cultural production, allowing cultural phenomena that cannot be clearly categorised as one or another form of cultural participation. The afore-mentioned notion of amateur production is in this thesis seen as one such cultural phenomena. The cultural production of amateurs or visitors in the context of public knowledge institutions will be discussed more thoroughly in

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<sup>16</sup> It is possible to argue that, actually, cultural production becomes connected to cultural consumption, and this is true when we approach cultural participation from the perspective of professionals from cultural industries. However, as the thesis is focussed on the cultural participation of visitors to public knowledge institutions, cultural production is seen as being added to existing practices of cultural consumption.

the next chapter, but because of the amateur component in the concept of ‘amateur production’, it also needs to be viewed within the framework of cultural consumption. As Carpentier (2010b) has pointed out, there is a threat that in “futurist megalomania” (Carpentier 2010b: 52) the old structures of media production may be forgotten – the same applies to cultural production in other settings. In short, the usage of (media) technologies and professional or institutional identities and practices occur largely in the same cultural institutions as before the new media ‘revolution’ (Carpentier 2010b). Thus, the notion of ‘amateur production’, despite its potential to produce something, is still fixed to the old and enduring practices of professional cultural industries, which predominantly see ‘outsiders’ as amateurs and treat them accordingly. Cultural consumption is for the visitors, the individuals who do not possess the expertise required to be a professional in the respective field. Amateur production in this context is allowed as long as it does not interfere with professional practices, e.g. professional ethics, ways of earning income.

As the afore-mentioned transformations have already been described in institutional settings, it is time to view these developments in public knowledge institutions. The basic purpose of public knowledge institutions, both museums and libraries, has traditionally been related to cultural consumption: providing visitors with varying kinds of information on varying topics during their visit to the institution. It is possible to measure certain traits of this process: the numbers of visitors, visits (as some visitors may return during a particular time period), loans (library), ticket sales (museum), etc. On the basis of visiting data it is assumed that a museum or a library is visited to participate in culture, in terms of consuming the culture. Yet the purpose paying a visit to a museum or a library is for the visitor to decide. Falk (2009) has drawn attention to museum visit motivations, revealing that in some cases the museum is seen just as a peaceful place where one can “be intellectually and spiritually recharged and rejuvenated” (Falk 2009: 63) – without any hint of measurable cultural consumption. Public knowledge institutions in such cases can be seen as places that have certain functions that may support cultural participation – either as cultural consumption or cultural production – that is not necessarily museum- or library-specific participation (e.g. one does not necessarily have to attend a library in order to read a book as this can be done anywhere, or one can write a doctoral dissertation in a library even though this could also be done at home or the workplace). Yet public knowledge institutions can also provide space for cultural participation. From the perspective of the current thesis, this is crucial, as, unlike many other cultural domains, public knowledge institutions do not have their own specific activity related to cultural participation. That is, one can read or write a poem, listen to or compose music, but one cannot ‘museumify’ in a museum, or ‘libriate’ at a library. As ‘cultural consumers’ visitors can consume a diverse choice of cultural ‘products’ in public knowledge institutions, using these institutions as places that generously enable visitors access to various kinds of information. To become a ‘cultural producer’ in a museum or a library, a space for cultural participation is needed – this can happen

through involvement in certain processes of these institutions. In the next sub-chapter we will see on what basis the involvement occurs.

### **1.2.2 Cultural participation as cultural production (political view)**

As was apparent in the previous sub-chapter, the (sociological) view of cultural participation as cultural consumption has gradually been complemented by the approach to cultural participation as cultural production. This viewpoint entails the assumption that non-professionals, despite their amateur position, also have a right to produce culture and even to become involved in the decision-making processes of a cultural institution; in the case of this thesis in the decision-making theatres of public knowledge institutions. Therefore, cultural participation can also be approached through a political viewpoint that has been informed by democratic theory.

Analysing the issue of participation or the place of this notion in democracy started to gain impetus at the end of the 1960s in order to reconstruct a “viable theory of democracy” (Pateman 1970: 1). Just as with the notion of ideology, there was also a tendency for ‘participation’ to “become linked to the concept of totalitarianism rather than that of democracy” (Pateman 1970: 2) – even though it could be just one of its connotations. Pateman reflects on the crisis in democracy, constituted by the “general lack of interest in politics and political activity, and further, that widespread non-democratic or authoritarian attitudes exist, again particularly among lower socio-economic status groups” (Pateman 1970: 3). She moves even further, in a way proposing the ‘democratisation of democracy’ by showing interest “in the participation in the workplace” (Pateman 1970: 66), and elaborating on this option in the context of industry. She is also justifiably critical when it comes to forms of ‘pseudo participation’ (when participation refers “not just to a method of decision making, but also to cover techniques used to persuade employees to accept decisions that have *already* been made by the management” (Pateman 1970: 68)), and distinguishes ‘partial’ participation from its ‘full’ counterpart. The main difference between these two concepts is hidden in the determination of the outcomes of decisions, for both by ‘partial’ and ‘full’ participation people are involved in decision-making processes, although it is only in the latter case that “each individual member of a decision-making body has equal power to determine the outcome of decisions” (Pateman 1970: 71).

The influence of Pateman’s work can hardly be underestimated because much that was written over 40 years ago seems largely to apply today. In the political approach it is argued that the concept of participation still needs explaining as it may happen that it is conflated with the notion of interaction (Carpentier (2007) has warned against this issue), or of engagement (this distinction has been suggested by Dahlgren (2006)), and will eventually thereby lose the “complexity in the meaning of a given term” (Carpentier 2007: 215).

The concept of cultural participation also involves productive and receptive processes related to media. Carpentier’s model of access, interaction and

participation takes these concepts into account in case of participation in media production, which in turn enables “participation in society” (Carpentier 2011: 70). In this model, access involves the means “to receive relevant content, and the ability (and skills) to receive content” (Carpentier 2007: 225), while interaction means using equipment to receive content, to interpret it, to create new content and to discuss it (Carpentier 2007: 225). Participation at the most advanced level involves evaluating the content, and co-deciding either on policy or technology (Carpentier 2007: 225), being thereby related to Pateman’s conception of participation (but not exclusively ‘full’ participation).

Carpentier (2011) also suggests a minimalist-maximalist dimension of democracy. In this approach, minimalist democratic participation mainly focuses on “representation and delegation of power, participation limited to elite selection, focusing on macro-participation, [...] unidirectional participation, focusing on a homogeneous popular will” (Carpentier 2011: 17). In the minimalist version of participation the most notable feature is probably that it provides a “narrow definition of politics as institutionalised politics” (Carpentier 2011: 17). The maximalist dimension of democracy can be defined as “balancing representation and participation, attempting to maximize participation, combining macro- and micro-participation, multidirectional participation, focusing on heterogeneity” (Carpentier 2011: 17). Unlike the minimalist dimension, maximalist democratic participation allows a “broad definition of the political as a dimension of the social” (Carpentier 2011: 17), and thus enables discussion of the political view in the context of cultural participation.

Dahlgren (2006) distinguishes between participation and engagement, saying that participation is related to some sort of activity, and engagement “indicates a mobilized, focused attention on some object” (Dahlgren 2006: 24). He relates these concepts to motivation (or indifference), as in order to participate (in societal activities) at least a minimum of engagement is needed (Dahlgren 2006). However, the aspect that Dahlgren focuses on in this work is not merely that of participation. He also considers the agency of a potential participant, that is, to what extent, if participation were really to be enabled in terms that Carpentier (2007) described, were the people invited to co-decide various matters ready to be engaged and eager to participate. This is the main reason why the approaches compared here, such as interest in exploring various modes of participation, should be considered on the levels of both agency and structure – that is, who is ready to participate and who is ready to enable participation. The same applies, of course, to cultural participation.

Perhaps cautiously in the context of libraries, but undeniably in the museum context, the concept of cultural participation as cultural production has drawn quite some attention (Goodnow 2010; Dalsgaard, Dindler and Eriksson 2008; Simon 2010; Graham 2012) to the political dimension of cultural participation in recent years. This attention is largely related to perceived transformations in museums “from the modernist museum as a site of authority to the post-museum as a site of mutuality” (Hooper-Greenhill 2000: XI), and the need to react, as well as to actively meet these transformations. This ‘mutuality’ is of

course grounded not only on the basis of the changing relationship between museum and museum-goer, but also on the reasons for providing the museum a relevant position in changing society and meeting its needs by contributing “to the democratisation of democracy” or supporting “21<sup>st</sup> century democratic and reflexive society” by encouraging “society’s publics to attribute meaning to the cultural objects that are on display” (Hein 2006 cited by Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt and Runnel 2011: 164).

Theoretical perspectives about more participatory museums have been supplemented by practical suggestions, e.g. emphasising the importance of participatory projects that “create new value for the institution, participants, and non-participating audience members” (Simon 2010: 6), and by hinting at simple forms of participatory projects that would not be destructive to the museum budget (these possibilities are also pointed to in **Study V**). After all, Simon (2010) shows that “creators are a small part of the landscape” (Simon 2010: 8, also noted by Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt and Aljas 2009) despite the very participatory nature of social media. Eventually, Simon (2010) expands the circle of parties involved in cultural participation with the notion of an audience that may be also interested “in the outcomes of the project” (Simon 2010: 13), and taps into the collective aspect of cultural participation (i.e. when individual museum visitors engage with each other socially (Simon 2010: 91)).

As the idea of cultural participation as cultural production may in some cases be unfamiliar for practitioners at public knowledge institutions (**Study III, IV, V**), it is not so rare that some ideas about cultural participation may seem more or less acceptable than others. Goodnow (2010), drawing on Carpentier (2007) gives several examples from levels of access and interaction in museums, yet participation in the form of structural involvement “may be rejected by museums and by community groups” (Goodnow 2010: XXVII). In a somewhat similar manner, Dalsgaard, Dindler and Eriksson (2008) have approached participation in public knowledge institutions, by focusing on “(co-)exploring, (co-)constructing and (co-)contributing” (Dalsgaard, Dindler and Eriksson 2008: 96) as successive steps on the scale of low/high participation. These authors, inspired to some extent by the ‘Library 2.0’ phenomenon (that is, the Web 2.0 counterpart to library applications), explore the notion of participation through various technological gadgets, and balance their approach by considering the *genius loci* of institutions they explored.

Recently, in the debate about more participatory museums, “ladder-based approaches” (reflexively re-visited by Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt and Runnel 2011) informed by democratic theory have been challenged by ‘complementary’ approaches. Simon (2010) distinguishes contributory, collaborative, co-creative, and hosted types of projects that allow visitors to become involved in the production processes of the museum; yet she is cautious about seeing these projects “as progressive steps towards a model of ‘maximal participation’” (Simon 2010: 188) as, for example, the results of these projects are not necessarily more and more progressive. Thus, the extent of involvement depends on particular projects, not on general types of participatory projects



that may at first glance seem to be presented as hierarchical (e.g. with gradually reduced numbers of participants given more freedom to fulfil the goals of their community by using the affordances of the museum). Instead, several aspects need to be applied to analyse participation in a museum, e.g. institutional control over the participatory process, the level of commitment and skills of participants, the goals of the project in respect to non-participating visitors' perception of the project (Simon 2010: 190–191).

The afore-mentioned works about participatory public knowledge institutions allow us to guess that at least some readiness to provide cultural participation both as cultural consumption and cultural production exists in these institutions. However, as has been shown in several works (e.g. Falk 2009; Pitman and Hirzy 2010; Simon 2010) the visitors' perception of the possibilities of cultural participation cannot be undervalued. The participatory project in a public knowledge institution may be well calculated, yet as is the case for governance practices, to be effective for governance the interests and aspirations of the governed also need to be considered. These considerations draw on basic preconditions for cultural participation, discussed in the next chapter.

### **1.3 Conditions for the possibility of cultural participation**

In contemporary society, in which attracting visitors (with the aim of allowing cultural participation) and increasing the visibility of the public knowledge institution are crucial for the sake of the existence of these institutions, *new audiences* gain particular significance. However, no matter how well calculated the possibility is to participate in culture in the settings of these institutions, it still may be that for one or other reason the response of visitors is something other than expected by the museum or library professionals. The next subchapter first examines several conditions of possibility that may influence cultural participation. On the one hand, these conditions can stem from public knowledge institutions (e.g. access, interaction), while on the other the conditions of possibility can also originate from visitors (e.g. various types of capital, information literacy and the social identity of visitors).

#### **1.3.1 Conditions stemming from public knowledge institutions**

The conditions of possibility for cultural participation both as cultural consumption or cultural production can be derived from the previously mentioned model containing access, interaction and participation (Carpentier 2007, Goodnow 2010, Carpentier 2011). Access may seem at first glance to be a basic premise for cultural participation, but as we will later see in the Estonian context, it has not always been as accepted as it is now. Enabling or disabling access or interaction in a public knowledge institution is largely a matter of choice, made either willingly or not (following the tacit rules of the institution), and stemming from organisational culture. Organisational culture is seen in this

thesis as “the glue that holds an organization together through a sharing of patterns of meaning” (Siehl and Martin 1984: 227 cited by Carpentier 2011: 218). According to this definition, “culture focuses on the values, beliefs, and expectations that members come to share” (Siehl and Martin 1984: 227 cited by Carpentier 2011: 218), and is related to the cultural-cognitive and normative elements of institutions (Scott 2001). Eventually, this relationship leads us back to the ideological component of governmentality in public knowledge institutions: informing, through organisational practices, what modes of cultural participation are to be preferred or neglected. Both the access and interaction can be fostered or limited in several ways, ranging from the physical access of disabled people to the museum or library, the inability, or possibility, to consume certain forms of culture because of, or despite, some sensory problem, to access to technological equipment needed in order to consume or produce culture. The role of information and communication technology (ICT) has in such cases been emphasised (Ward 2010), and often paired with the notion of the digital divide (e.g. van Dijk and Hacker 2003), but also pointing critically to mental barriers related to usage of ICT (van Dijk and Hacker 2003)<sup>17</sup>.

With particular importance in libraries and museums, provision of access to information with the help of ICT is also grounded in the multiple layers of the information content. Firstly it involves basic information about the library or museum (e.g. opening hours, facilities); secondly, metadata about various information resources in other public knowledge institutions can be provided; thirdly, a museum or a library can provide access to an electronic catalogue or information system of its own; fourthly, in the case of sufficient resources and perceived need, the public knowledge institution can provide access to its digitised contents (Maier 2002: 2 cited by Lepik 2006). Of all these layers, the first three focus on usage of the public knowledge institution, the possibility to access information, e.g. whether the library is open when one needs to go there, whether the needed material is physically available in a museum, or whether it is possible to view material online regardless the public knowledge institution that preserves the physical object. The fourth layer is the access to information provided online, allowing cross constraints related to visits to public knowledge institutions. These four layers of access do not solve the problem of division between inclusion in, and exclusion from, information flows, but to some extent the exclusion is reduced within the facilities of libraries and museums – either by providing access to materials on site or online, or by allowing visitors to use technological equipment provided by these institutions. The development of ICTs is important in library and museum contexts as it has increased the

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<sup>17</sup> Van Dijk and Hacker (2003) mention that van Dijk has elsewhere viewed digital skills not only as “abilities of operating computers and network connections” (van Dijk and Hacker 2003: 316), but also as “the abilities to search, select, process, and apply information from a superabundance of sources” (van Dijk and Hacker 2003). Perhaps for the sake of clarity, information related skills have been treated as information literacy in the context of library and information sciences – this thesis also follows this strand of research and therefore discusses information literacy in the following sub-chapter.

possibility of visitors accessing the information held by these institutions. Yet, better access has also meant a shift in quantity – the amount of information made available by public knowledge institutions is enormous, and this is the point where information literacy becomes relevant in the context of cultural participation.

Provision of access with more sophisticated technologies has corresponded well to the working logics of libraries and museums, even helping to solve some fundamental conflicts, e.g. digitisation allows the institution to provide access to images of rarities, while the original object can be preserved in the depository (this issue was also discussed in **Study III, V**). Interaction and technologies enabling interaction have complemented, but sometimes also challenged, the logics of access provision with the possibility to provide new content and discuss existing content (Carpentier 2007). Web2.0 has been seen to provide an “architecture of participation, a built-in ethic of cooperation” (O’Reilly 2005: online), thus fostering the interaction. In the case of libraries, social software has been promoted to “outreach to [...] patrons” (Farkas 2007: 8), and also instruct them about information literacy (Farkas 2012). Apart from communicating with patrons, another Web2.0 related concept, social tagging, has been suggested to create *folksonomies*<sup>18</sup> to “improve search engine’s effectiveness because content is categorized using a familiar, accessible, and shared vocabulary” (Wikipedia cited by Peterson 2008: 2). Similar trends can be noticed in museums, where social media has been seen as a tool to increase interaction with visitors (Russo et al. 2010), and folksonomies or tagging projects in particular have been suggested to “foster and maintain links with specialized groups like volunteers and docents, or support the work of teachers and students” (Trant and Wyman 2006: 3). While the possibility of outreach or instruction is generally seen as acceptable for museums and libraries, social tagging has been viewed with certain cautiousness (the pitfalls of folksonomies have been mentioned by Peterson 2008, for example). This cautious attitude is also familiar in Estonian public knowledge institutions, reflected by Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt and Aljas (2009): “existing cataloguing systems and database structures have worked for museums for nearly a hundred years, they should continue to do so” (Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt and Aljas 2009: 125), and **Study III**. The question of interaction is therefore related not only to technology, it may appear at first glance, although through attitudes and values it is also related to organisational culture, and from there to underlying ideologies and governance rationalities in museums and libraries.

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<sup>18</sup> “Folksonomy is a collaboratively generated, open-ended labelling system that enables Internet users to categorise content such as Web pages, online photographs, and Web links” (Wikipedia cited by Peterson 2008: 2).

### **1.3.2 Conditions originating from visitors – capitals**

In addition to the conditions of possibility for cultural participation, potentially provided by public knowledge institutions, there are also several conditions for participation that may originate in visitors. The body of literature presents us a multifarious set of conditions for civic or political participation and these can be taken as a starting point because of the thorough examination of this field. Some of these conditions might also be transferred to the cultural domain, that is, to the context of cultural participation.

One of the traditional starting points has been considering measurable variables such as income or standard of living. The most common assumption in this case is that “democracies will more likely exist in richer rather than poorer countries” (Krishna 2008: 1), a considerable amount of literature that confirms this assumption has been outlined by Krishna (2008). Sometimes, researchers have even gone as far as attempting to propose living standards above which democracy might survive (for example, “in countries with per capita incomes above \$4,000” (Przeworski, et al. 2000 cited by Krishna 2008)). Whereas democracy has been seen as “sort of luxury of good” (Barro 1996: 24 cited by Krishna 2008: 3), researchers have also referred to Maslow’s ‘hierarchy of needs’ (Diamond 1992: 126 cited by Krishna 2008), suggesting that poorer individuals are probably more willing to “trade off democracy (and other such ‘luxuries’) for greater material consumption at the present time” (Krishna 2008: 3). The level of income has also been related to feeling of existential security, leading people “to shift their emphasis from survival values toward self-expression values and free choice” (Inglehart et al. 2008: 266) – allowing emphasis of participation as well. Relatedness of material resources to cultural participation (as cultural consumption) has been studied in Estonia, producing a conclusion that “cultural consumption is increasingly becoming differentiated on the basis of income” (Lõhmus, Lauristin and Salupere 2006: 321). However, it is also important to take into account the fact that interest in culture, and thereby also the need to participate in it, can be very different, and possibilities to participate in culture almost free of charge, e.g. using a home library, watching TV or listening to the radio, cannot be underestimate. Thus, “cultural consumption has retained its important role in integrating the society” (Lõhmus, Lauristin, Salupere 2006: 321).

The standard of living as a condition for (cultural) participation has thus been challenged. On the one hand it has been suggested that poverty does not determine participation in politics (Yadav 1999 cited by Krishna 2008), and that there can be a whole variety of ways in which poorer people participate in democracy, “including campaigning, contacting, protesting, and other time- and resource-intensive forms” (Krishna 2008: 10). On the other hand, the crisis of democracy in developed high-income countries (Giddens 1999) or the decline in civic engagement (Putnam 2000) hints that at some point, the level of income can be irrelevant as a condition for (cultural) participation. Instead, several other conditions of possibility need to be considered as having an impact on cultural participation.

With certain cautiousness we may treat the level of income as financial or economic capital, and thus consider other ‘capitals’ as well. Bourdieu’s “Distinction” ([1984] 2010) informs us of the education and cultural capital that can be treated hand in hand with economic capital in order to study cultural preferences of varying social classes and professions. For the current thesis, distinguishing the most likely social group to participate in culture via public knowledge institutions has not been *the* aim. Nevertheless, in Estonian society, which is not a class society like France in the 1960s, education capital, which is treated as an education qualification in Bourdieu’s work (Bourdieu [1984] 2010), and cultural capital paired with the concept of *habitus*, referring to certain competences and preferences of cultural phenomena<sup>19</sup> (Bourdieu [1984] 2010: 258), both have an impact on cultural orientations (Lõhmus, Lauristin and Salupere 2006; Lõhmus, Lauristin and Siirman 2009), and therefore influence cultural participation.

Another important notion of capital that cannot be left unmentioned is social capital (also an existing concept in works of Bourdieu, closely related to the notion of symbolic capital (Siisiäinen 2000)), which has been analysed within the framework of civic participation (Putnam 2000). The impact of social capital on civic participation has been questioned by Hooghe (2003) who, after drawing on the work of Putnam (2000), compared the reasons for the decline of civic participation in the United States of America, and Belgium. Hooghe’s work has shown that the impact of social capital can be highly dependent on context. Hooghe (2003) shows significant differences between these two countries as “with the notable exception of religion and secularization, none of the factors that are cited in the literature as responsible for the decline of participation levels are significantly related to the intensity of participation” (Hooghe 2003: 55). What is particularly interesting is that Putnam (2000) too is quite careful about interpreting his results, as shown for example in marital and parental status (compared by Hooghe 2003), as he eventually states that, “apart from youth- and church-related engagement, *none* of the major declines in social capital and civic engagement that we need to explain can be accounted for by the decline in the traditional family structure” (Putnam 2000: 279). As the body of literature has shown, apart from the impact of social capital, there is a lack of a common understanding of the components of social capital. In this thesis, social capital is seen as been related to basic categories such as trust or trustworthiness (Offe and Fuchs 2002: 190; Ostrom and Ahn 2009: 20), and being part of associations or networks (Siisiäinen 2000; Wuthnow 2002: 63; Ostrom and Ahn 2009: 20) – following therefore the approach of Putnam (2000) who also defines social capital as “connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them” (Putnam 2000: 19). If we treat cultural participation as a collective

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<sup>19</sup> The cultural phenomena Bourdieu ([1984] 2010) points out range from home decoration to meal preferences, from peoples’ aesthetic tastes to knowledge of and interest in varying forms of culture.

activity, social capital functions as a prerequisite, allowing groups of people to come up with new ideas about cultural participation in public knowledge institutions.

In a potential situation in which many new ideas have been proposed, political capital may start to foster or hinder cultural participation. Just as is the case for social capital, political capital can also be defined in multiple ways. From the perspective of the current thesis it is necessary to point to the proximity between concepts of social capital and political capital, as these “forms of capital accumulate in relational ties” (Nee and Oppen 2010: 2107). At the same time, political capital differs from social capital because it “has the additional feature of being linked to the positional power of the politician, and thus it is rooted in institutional structures of the political order” (Nee and Oppen 2010: 2107). Political capital also connects the politician with the electorate – in which case “the approval or disapproval of a politician’s performance” (Nee and Oppen 2010: 2107) matters. In the case of public knowledge institutions that define themselves as politically neutral or ideology free, the afore-mentioned definition of political capital becomes debatable. Yet, as in the light of minimalist-maximalist versions of democracy it is possible to move beyond institutional politics, and define “the political as a dimension of the social” (Carpentier 2011: 17), political capital can obtain a somewhat broader meaning in museums and libraries. For example, a respected member of the local community of some ethnic minority, actively representing the community in a public knowledge institution, can draw on her or his political capital. Both the positional power and representative function in this case support participation in culture, and help to legitimise certain ideas or viewpoints.

### **1.3.3 Conditions originating from visitors – information literacy**

In addition to various capitals, information literacy and the social identity (a condition which will be discussed more thoroughly in chapter 1.3.4) of visitors can be treated as conditions of possibility to participate in culture. These conditions are supported by the afore-mentioned capitals providing necessary financial, cultural, social, and political means to become information literate, and allow people to identify themselves as cultural participants in one or another form of culture. In addition, as **Study V** has shown, information literacy and social identity may be linked to each other: identity is nourished by the knowledge necessary for participation, and becoming information literate is supported by the social identity of a potential visitor. Through the relationship between the visitor and the public knowledge institution, social identity and information literacy may also be influenced by certain modes of access and interaction provided by museums and libraries.

The idea about education as a prerequisite for participation is old, and can be found in the works of Enlightenment philosophers (Rousseau, J. S. Mill) tightly related to the assumption of the educative function of participation. Pateman (1970), who has analysed the development of participatory theory, has on this

point referred to Rousseau's notion of the "self-sustaining" (Pateman 1970: 25) participatory system in which "the more the individual citizen participates the better able he is to do so" (Pateman 1970: 25). 'Learning democracy', starting from the local level, and ending perhaps even at the level of national government, or conveying ideas about participation from one field to another (Pateman (1970) has introduced ideas from J. S. Mill) is also related to the concept of education, or in a way to 'literacy' in the sense of becoming capable of participating in democracy.

In varying contexts, particular literacy-related concepts have also been seen as prerequisites for participation in civic society. In terms of media literacy, for example, the ability to create content, and the competency to actively participate in social processes have been seen as fostering participation in democratic processes (Runnel 2009; Ugur 2010). In the context of public knowledge institutions and in libraries in particular, the concept of information literacy was introduced in 1974. While initially 'information literacy' was related to knowledge of information resources, it has gradually moved beyond the work setting and started to serve a wider function (Bawden 2001: 230). The extension of information literacy "to the functions of citizenship – e.g. "beyond information literacy for greater work effectiveness and efficiency, information literacy is needed to guarantee the survival of democratic institutions" (Owens 1976 cited by Bawden 2001: 230) started in the 1970s. By the 1990s, as Sanna Talja and Annemaree Lloyd point out, the "idea of empowering individuals through teaching and adoption of information acquisition skills and competencies" (Talja and Lloyd 2010: X) had gained the status of a "powerful way of thinking about information literacy" (Talja and Lloyd 2010: X).

It is important to note that while numerous attempts to define the concept of 'information literacy' (see for Bawden (2001) for a thorough review) have been made, the quest for a more appropriate definition continues. One of the ways that this is also relevant from the perspective of participatory learning is to see information literacy "as situated and distributed activity" (Lipponen 2010). This challenges one of the often-quoted definitions of information literacy, proposed by the ALA's Association of College and Research Libraries (2000) that treats information literacy as "a set of abilities requiring individuals to 'recognize when information is needed and have the ability to locate, evaluate, and use effectively the needed information'" (American Library Association (ALA) Presidential Committee on Information Literacy (1989) cited in the Association of College and Research Libraries 2000). Inspired by Sfard (1998), Lipponen (2010) proposes that the "ACRL definition appears to rely on the acquisition framework of learning" (Lipponen 2010: 53), and describes information literacy in a very "individual-centric manner, focusing on an individual's competencies and activities" (Lipponen 2010: 53). Yet even in the case of a person who is entirely information-literate, able to "define, search for, evaluate and use information" (Lipponen 2010: 55), it is dubious whether (s)he can use (digital) information alone because it is grounded in multiple communities of practice, being most likely enclosed by certain boundaries. Information literacy in this

approach can be “learned as a part of a membership of a community of practice; assuming the artefacts and social practices that are taken for granted in the community is a fundamental prerequisite of this membership” (Lipponen 2010: 61). Particularly for this reason Lipponen (2010) treats information literacy as situated and distributed.

In this way, information literacy stands at the meeting point of preconditions of cultural participation both originating from visitors, and provided by museums and (especially) libraries. On the one hand, information literacy is related to varying capitals, in particular to social capital and education capital. On the other hand it is also influenced by access to and interaction with public knowledge institutions. Typically, access to the resources of public knowledge institutions is supported by instructions, given sometimes in written form (e.g. leaflets) and sometimes in the form of a course or workshop. The opportunities for interaction also need to be communicated to visitors, for example in form of clear notification. When informing visitors about the access or interaction options, public knowledge institutions distribute some knowledge about the working logics of the institution, contributing thereby to the information literacy of their visitors and to the cultural participation of the visitors. As a condition of possibility stemming from visitors, information literacy could be treated as a form of capital of its own (due to its manifold nature, the concept of information literacy (Bawden 2001) *is* still open for a revision). Yet in this thesis, the notion of information literacy is also strongly linked to libraries (**Study IV**), which are one of the sources of information literacy (but not so much the sources of other types of capital). Therefore, the particular junction between visitors and libraries in this thesis allows a view of information literacy as a distinguishable prerequisite for cultural participation.

To be able to participate culturally in museums or libraries one needs to be sufficiently knowledgeable about the institution, participation possibilities, boundaries that might allow or disallow participation. Some of these possibilities are made explicit for visitors, for example in terms or rules of usage, or through afore-mentioned modes of informing, yet some remain vague and may even be confusing for the staff if these possibilities are not formulated clearly enough. When we focus on cultural participation as the consumption of culture (for example reading a book, attending an exhibition, etc.) we can find quite clear instructions that directly or indirectly support consumption of culture. However, focusing on cultural participation as the production of culture (for example collaborating with the museum or library, contributing tangible or intangible cultural heritage) is both a novel and intriguing step, especially when it is considered to be entrusted to visitors who are often seen as amateurs in culture.



### **1.3.4 Conditions originating from visitors – social identity**

In addition to information literacy, the social identity of visitors also shapes cultural participation. Considering the theoretical framework of the thesis introduced so far, the notion of social identity mainly focuses on subject position through the eyes of visitors. The visitors' identity has been treated as being in close relation to the museum visiting motivation (Falk 2009, 2011, Pitman and Hirzy 2010), but this concept is also useful for studying particular visitor activities and varying modes of cultural participation in museums and libraries.

Particularly in the case of museums, identity is a well-known concept as the museums have traditionally worked as the bearers and constructors of national or nation-state identities (Mason 2007, Raisma 2009, Tamm 2012) fulfilling these tasks by functions of interpretation and representation (as explained in chapter 1.1.2.1). However, a small glimpse into studies of the identity construction of individuals (e.g. Cooper and Denner (1998), Falk (2011)) shows that national identity is one of the multiple identities people have. By drawing on ecocultural and sociocultural theories, Cooper (1999) has referred to the plurality of activity settings in which people participate. Cooper (1999), too, has pointed to the relationships tied to these settings, patterns of communication, and corresponding goals and values of individuals. In addition, being inspired by the Multiple Worlds Model, Cooper (1999) has emphasised the individuals' need to integrate experiences from various 'worlds' or activity settings "with their views of themselves" (Cooper 1999: 3), thus hinting at the numerous identities people may have. At the level of particular identity, "the competing needs for inclusiveness and uniqueness" (Ethier and Deaux 1994: 243 cited by Cooper and Denner 1998: 570), balanced by "an optimal level of distinctiveness" (Ethier and Deaux 1994: 243 cited by Cooper and Denner 1998: 570) play an important role in choosing a relevant activity setting for oneself. Various activity settings, e.g. the home, school, the workplace to name just few, have specific "cultural knowledge and behaviour found within their boundaries" (Cooper 1999: 3) which are not as fixated as socio-cultural aspects shaping identities related to nationality, gender, etc., but which nevertheless demand certain efforts so that one can identify oneself in relation to these settings. As one of the activity settings, public knowledge institutions can be treated as shaping the identities of people attending museums and libraries, thus equipping visitors with a visitor identity comparable to that of the professional identities of museum workers or library staff. In the context of the current thesis, the identity of the visitor is closely related to the subject position of a visitor (Hooper-Greenhill 1992, Skouvig 2007) who becomes involved in particular governmentality process in public knowledge institutions.

In museum studies, Falk (2009, 2011) has largely drawn upon identity-theories summarised by Cooper (1999) and has distinguished various identities as big "I" identities, which are "enduring and deep" (Falk 2011: 6), remaining "fairly constant across our lives" (Falk 2011: 6); and small "i" identities which are "more situated identities that represent responses to the needs and realities

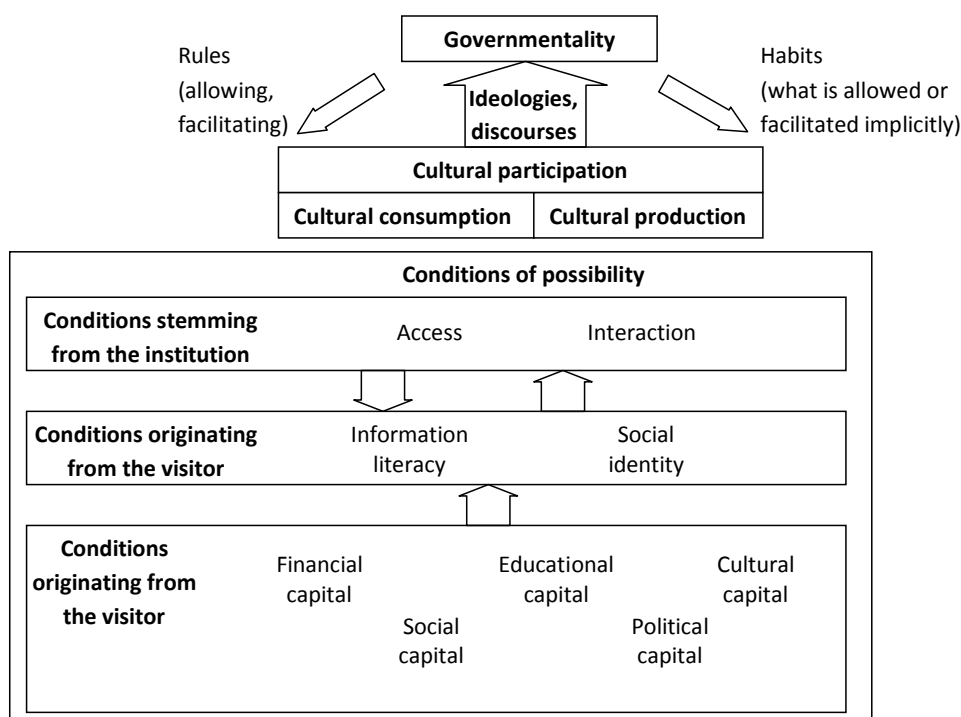
of the specific moment and circumstances” (Falk 2011: 7). The examples that Falk (2011) has presented of both kinds of identity may be somewhat questionable, as views about politics or religion (described by Falk as big “I” identities) may be subject to change under specific circumstances while relationships with close family members (described by Falk as small “i” identities) may stay constant. Therefore, the author of this thesis focuses on the generic distinction of identities (enduring vs. situated), without attempting to define any big “I” identities. At the same time, this step still allows me to define the social identity of the visitor to a public knowledge institution as one of the multiple small “i” identities.

The need to understand the social identity of the visitor stems from the problem that traditionally visitor researchers have focussed on “permanent qualities of either the museum” (Falk 2011: 2), “or the visitor” (Falk 2011: 2), without paying sufficient attention to the particular “relationship that occurs each time a person visits a museum” (Falk 2011: 4). Seeking visiting motivations in museums is not an entirely new enterprise, as Falk (2009) also points out in his work, yet his approach distinguishes itself from earlier visitor studies because Falk attempts to position visitors in identity-related categories originating in particular museum visits. To be precise, the categories that not only describe visitors but also articulate their positions in relation to the museum (see also **Study III**), have been named as follows: “1) explorer; 2) facilitator; 3) experience seeker; 4) professional/hobbyist; and 5) recharger” (Falk 2009: 64); later, “respectful pilgrims” and “affinity seekers” (Falk 2011: 10) were added. These categories are, however, ideal types, as “visit motivations combine some mix of all these reasons” (Falk 2009: 64). As mentioned above, Falk (2009, 2011) views visitor identities “that respond to the needs and realities of the specific moment and situation” (Falk 2009: 73), including a visit to a museum. These identities in sum influence the continuous cycle between visit expectations, and visiting satisfaction and memories gained from the museum (Falk 2009).

Another study that also considered visiting motivations related to identities was conducted by Pitman and Hirzy (2010) in the setting of an art museum. This work also rejects demographic distinctions and characteristics, as these traits “reveal little about the ways in which visitors engage with works of art” (Pitman and Hirzy 2010: 25). Instead, Pitman and Hirzy (2010) distinguish four visitor clusters (observers, participants, independents, and enthusiasts) on the basis of art-viewing preferences, experiences and knowledge of art (Pitman and Hirzy 2010: 34), and preferred types of events at the museum. The benefit of this study for the current thesis is that in a similar manner to Falk (2009) it helps us to better understand visitor motivations and identities underlining a visit to a museum (or library). These studies hint that the variety of modes of cultural participation in public knowledge institutions needs to be considered, but also warn against preferring just one mode, either cultural consumption or cultural production, of cultural participation.

## I.4 Summary of the theoretical chapter

The theoretical chapter has provided an overview of various approaches that help to explain the notion of cultural participation, and the concepts framing it in this thesis. Figure 1 sums up the theoretical framework in a heuristic model briefly explaining the theoretical domains of the thesis. As was the case with defining culture in chapter 1.2, Figure 1 focuses on particular aspects related to cultural participation, as relevant in the context of this doctoral thesis.



**Figure 1.** A heuristic model of governance and the preconditions for cultural participation

In this thesis, the analysis of governmentality has been positioned as the most generic perspective (explored in **Study III**) on cultural participation. These two concepts, governmentality and cultural participation, have often been treated as opposites, in mainly conflicting approaches to control (in governance) or freedom (of people participating). Yet the framework of this thesis positions these notions in the same set, treating the participatory initiatives, no matter how ‘emancipatory’ these may seem, as part of governance. By drawing on a Foucaudian understanding of power in the analysis of governmentality, the framework of the thesis subscribes to the idea that the meaning of the omnipresent power relations, despite the struggle for control, is that nobody actually *has* control. In the settings of public knowledge institutions the analysis of governmentality refers to the rational assumptions which frame cultural participation,

making it one of the multiple projects that public knowledge institutions have, because first and foremost cultural participation deals with the communicative function of public knowledge institutions. Of course, cultural participation also involves traditional functions of museums and libraries, which acquire, classify, and preserve cultural heritage because all the functions of public knowledge institutions are in one way or another related to each other. Yet, when we talk about the cultural participation of visitors, we mean the outreach of the institution, the ways the collections of museums and libraries are presented to visitors, and how visitors and public knowledge institutions can collaborate. Only through this collaboration can other public knowledge institution functions become open to visitors.

Part from the analysis of governmentality there are multiple ways to study the working logics of public knowledge institutions. We can analyse how public knowledge institutions are ‘managed’ – in this case, it would be necessary to attend to theories stemming from economics. But it would also mean the threat of becoming trapped with a particular vocabulary, treating public knowledge institutions as non-profit institutions, and visitors as their customers. Or it would be possible to attend to stakeholder theories, in this case to approach to the networks of stakeholders which museums and libraries have. However, as **Study III** has shown these approaches to public knowledge institutions would uncover only particular aspects of communication with visitors. The same could be said about the choice of the framework of analysis from the works of Foucault, as we could analyse museums and libraries as disciplining institutions, yet we would again end up with just one aspect of these institutions. Therefore, analysis of governmentality has been found useful in its application in this thesis for it allows more openly attention to various perspectives about the relationships between public knowledge institutions and their visitors.

Following the same logic, analysis of governmentality allows me to focus attention on ideologies or discourses that inform the modes of cultural participation (this is done in **Study I**, **Study II**, and **Study IV**). As pointed out in previous paragraph, the logics according to which public knowledge institutions function are not uniform, and stem from different perspectives. This also takes in the multiplicity of ideologies framing cultural participation in libraries and museums, and the fostering or hindering of cultural consumption, cultural production, or combinations of these modes of cultural participation. Enabling one or other mode of cultural participation is thus a choice – whether made willingly or not – supported by rules and habits (**Study III**) accepted by the members of the institution, who govern the visitors. The choice of the mode of cultural participation largely depends on the members of the (public knowledge) institution. This choice can be also negotiated by the very same members and visitors. Therefore it is not the purpose of the analysis of governmentality to give judgements about more or less ‘suitable’ governance ideologies or practices, nor to evaluate the societal situation framing the governance practices in public knowledge institutions.

Eventually, keeping in mind the communicative function of public knowledge institutions, the analysis of governmentality also needs to consider the visitors' conditions of possibility to participate in culture, reducing the possible institution-centric approach to visitor participation. In particular, the social identity and information literacy shaping and being shaped through the visitor's relationship with the public knowledge institution are focussed on in the thesis (**Study V**). Within the wide selection of conditions of possibility, both social identity and information literacy are influenced by possibilities of access to or interaction with the public knowledge institution, and by the various capitals possessed by visitors. Access and interaction can be treated as if they are 'socialising' tools, introducing options of cultural participation for visitors. In turn, both access and interaction also imply the need for visitors to accept institutional rules and habits so that common ground for cultural participation in museums and libraries can be established. The variety of capitals forms a certain background of the visitor, consisting of financial, educational, cultural, social, and political aspects which all influence the social identity and information literacy of the visitor. Although the capitals possessed by visitors are not under particular scrutiny in this thesis, the approaches to capitals help better to understand the richness of the visitors' motivation to attend a library or a museum, and participate in culture in these settings. Therefore, the social identity and information literacy of visitors are approached in this thesis, to understand the underlying motivations for cultural participation.

## 2 THE ESTONIAN CONTEXT

This chapter, dedicated to the Estonian context, first focuses on issues of post-Communist transition in Estonian society as a background system influencing cultural participation practices in public knowledge institutions. Secondly, the structure of Estonian cultural institutions, keeping in mind particular institutional spheres of influence, will be introduced. Thirdly, cultural participation, both as cultural consumption and cultural production, in Estonian public knowledge institutions will be touched upon, recalling the ideological background of Estonian museums and libraries in recent history. Eventually, this chapter will take a look at the context of the Estonian National Museum and the University of Tartu Library, which are the main loci of my research.

### 2.1 The societal context of Estonia as a post-Communist transition society

The societal context of Estonia, the northern-most of the Baltic States, can first and foremost be understood within the framework of the desire to be independent and “Return to the Western World”<sup>20</sup>. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Estonia has gained independence in 1918, lost it to the Soviet Union in the course of the Second World War for nearly five decades, and then restored it on August the 20<sup>th</sup> in 1991, grasping thus the dream of independence. The most important contemporary events, joining the European Union in 2004, and the euro zone in 2011 have confirmed the narrative of the ‘return’. In a contemporary globalised world the desire to ‘return’ may look odd, and the yearning for independence, nationalist<sup>21</sup>, especially because for centuries Estonians have been an independent nation for only a fraction of time. Yet there are several signs in the collective memory of Estonians fostering the ‘returning’ narrative (Lauristin 1997): e.g. the sense of ‘good old Swedish time’<sup>22</sup>, and the time-proof slogan “Let us be Estonians, but also become Europeans!” (Suits 1905: 17).

In addition to the perception of ‘return’, the nationhood of Estonians is constructed through continuities resulting in “strange situations where Estonia simultaneously seems to be both young and old” (Tamm 2012: 48). Intrinsically, the construction of the Estonian nation has been informed by ethnic nationalism (O’Leary 1998), characterized by the situation in which “the small

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<sup>20</sup> This metaphor is borrowed from a book with the same title, and through analysis of Estonia as a post-Communist transition country.

<sup>21</sup> It is crucial to recall the diversity of definitions of nationalism and to talk about nationalisms in plural, as has been done by O’Leary (1998) who introduced several “nationalism-engendering situations” (O’Leary 1998: 49). Thus, the question is not whether the narrative framing independence in Estonia is nationalist or not, for it *is* nationalist indeed. The question we need to ask is what *type* of nationalism we can see in Estonia.

<sup>22</sup> Various parts of Estonia were incorporated into the Swedish Kingdom in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries; the first university in Estonia was opened during this time.

intelligentsias of the powerless spearhead efforts to make their low culture into a high culture” (O’Leary 1998: 49). These efforts of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Estonian intelligentsia are manifested in the Constitution of Estonia, which maintains the “inextinguishable right of the people of Estonia to national self-determination” (Constitution of the Republic of Estonia: online).

The past two decades have passed under the aegis of restoring society, following the example of the republic as it was before the Soviet occupation, but also moving on, considering developments in contemporary Europe and the contemporary world in general. Starting from the restoration of the parliamentary multiparty system and the transition to a liberal market economy, becoming an updated and flexible ‘tiger’ with successful stories from the field of information technology (including e-governing, and the rise of the Internet (Runnel, Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt, Reinsalu 2009)), politics (with low corruption levels), economy, governance (giving the impression of transparency with useful IT platforms) and protecting its beautiful untouched nature – these are important keywords that describe, and are also used to promote, Estonia (the Estonian marketing concept). The economic growth in Estonia was fast and stable in the 2000–2007 period, “[o]n average 8–10% per year” (Eamets 2011: 75). Despite the crisis between 2008 and 2010 it is even now possible to claim that positive developments have allowed the introduction of Estonia as “not yet a Nordic country” (Widler 2007: 148).

It may look odd, in 2013, to treat Estonia as a transition society as the country regained its independence more than twenty years ago: according to certain rhetoric it is about time to stop blaming the Soviet occupation for contemporary problems (e.g. Rooste 2004). This kind of statement is understandable and constructive in the afore-mentioned context. However, researchers discussing issues of democracy have pointed to the processes inherent to transition societies, where even twenty years is short time. According to Dahrendorf (1990), who has compared various processes related to reforms, the development of “social foundations which transform the constitution and the economy from fair-weather into all-weather institutions” (Dahrendorf 1990: 92f) may need nearly sixty years. Masso (2001) and Lauristin and Vihalemm (2009a) have come to a similar conclusion, either by discussing the context of the revival of grass-roots democracy, which was dismantled in territories of the former Soviet Union (Masso 2001, **Study III**), or when considering the duration of social and cultural processes (Lauristin and Vihalemm 2009a).

Thus, changes in Estonian political culture have needed time. Both Masso (2001) and Heidmets (2007) refer to a contradiction according to which the Estonian economy can be praised for its more or less rapid development over the last 21 years, but at the same time the health and strength of society are in relatively poor condition (this includes the interest in participating in democracy). According to Lauristin and Vihalemm (2009b) there could be several reasons for this, both external and internal, which may impact on developments of political culture. In sum, in the political landscape of independent Estonia, the focus has mainly been at the level of the state, prioritising issues that would

be useful to build up a strong and attractive economic environment in terms of capitalism, yet postponing the solutions that would meet the interests of the electorate in the future (Lauristin and Vihalemm 2009b). Some problems, concerning public moral and democratic participation, had to wait until the time of joining the European Union. Thus, the grass-roots democracy that Masso (2001) refers to had to wait not only for an independent republic, but nearly a decade more (simultaneously letting disillusion and cheating impact the perception of democracy) (Lainurm 1999).

However, concerning grass-roots democracy, the development of civil organisations has been promising. In the 1990s the lack of resources hindered the implementation of several strategies of empowerment from civic organisations (Lauristin and Vihalemm 2009b), mainly ‘vegetating’ instead of ‘participating’ (Rikmann et al. 2010). The weak need to empower civic organisations by the representatives of the public and private sectors can also be considered a heritage from the Soviet period (Rikmann et al. 2010), yet by the mid-2000s this attitude had changed. The organisations within the third sector started to differentiate not only on the basis of scope, interest and purpose, but also on the basis of their durability, income, and relations with other institutions (Rikmann 2010 et al.). This insight into the activities of non-profit organisations in Estonia may seem irrelevant from the perspective of the current dissertation, yet in a way it provides some of the overview about the institutionalisation of citizen activities – what a citizen can do between elections for the society in which (s)he lives, and what can be possible participation-related attitudes. Rikmann et al. (2010) have introduced some challenges related to relationships with other institutions and inside individual non-profit institutions, and the issue of professionalisation, and a parallel can be drawn from here to attitudes towards politics in respect of possible belief or disappointment in ‘the system’.

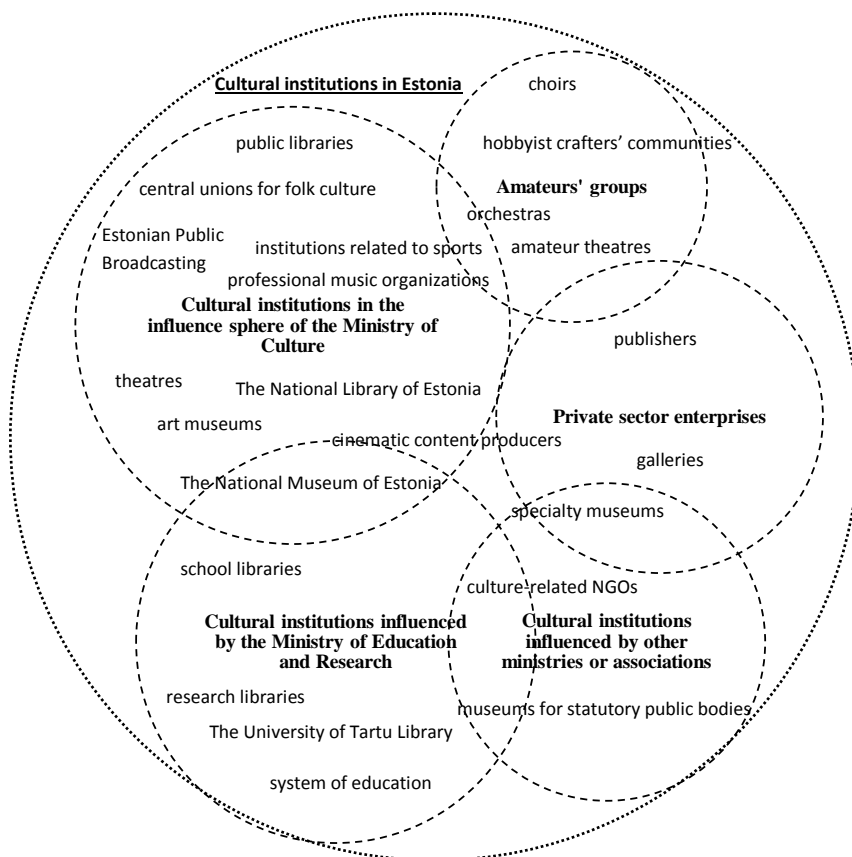
## **2.2 Cultural institutions in Estonia**

To introduce the structure of cultural institutions in Estonia, institutions that are fulfilling culture-related tasks are mapped in certain spheres of influence. This is done in order to understand the governance practices that work not only *within* the cultural institutions, but also *around* them. The sphere of influence is understood in the current context as a domain or a sector having its specific modes of governance, finance, and a distinguishable role in society.

The majority of Estonian cultural institutions are located in the influence sphere of the Ministry of Culture. However, although the Ministry of Culture is responsible for a substantial range of cultural areas (from literature to broadcasting, from theatre to sports) (Welcome to 2010), the institutions in these areas are not always directly governed or financed by this ministry. Some culture-related institutions may be governed by other ministries, such as the Ministry of Education and Research, or by associations, while others work as private enterprises, and finally amateur groups make a further distinctive part of



the Estonian cultural milieu. Figure 2 shows a map of Estonian cultural institutions in their corresponding spheres of influence, as relevant to the context of this thesis.



**Figure 2.** Spheres of influence of culture-related institutions in Estonia<sup>23</sup>

As apparent in Figure 2, under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture are Estonian institutions from the fields of the performing arts, art museums and some galleries, varying cinematic content producers, central unions for folk culture, some of the museums and libraries, institutions related to sports, Estonian Public Broadcasting, etc. Of institutions relevant for this thesis, the Estonian National Museum also belongs in this group.

<sup>23</sup> Figure 2 includes a small variety of culture-related institutions in Estonia and does not aim to be conclusive in this respect. The focus in this model is on the distinguishable spheres of influence that inform the positions of Estonian public knowledge institutions.

The cultural field also encompasses institutions, in the sphere of influence of the Ministry of Education and Research, which contribute to cultural reproduction – the entire system of education positions here, and also the institutions which support the education system; school and research libraries, including the University of Tartu Library, belong in this sphere of influence. The reason to outline this sphere of influence lies also in its role in educating new cultural professionals. In the case of the National Museum of Estonia, possible overlap is detectable between two spheres of influence, as some activities of the ENM are also governed by the Ministry of Education and Research.

Some museums (The Estonian War Museum), and also culture-related NGOs (including the Estonian Broadcasting Museum), and usually cultural houses and ‘cultural factories’ are positioned in Figure 2 as being influenced by other ministries or associations.

As not all cultural institutions are run by the state or municipalities, publishing houses, many galleries, several specialty museums (The Estonian Aviation Museum), sports-related institutions are presented as part of the private sector, probably most directly facing the logics (and consequences) of the liberal market.

Last but not least a significant role in Estonian cultural life is played by ‘amateurs’, i.e. by people who are not educated to be cultural professionals. This sphere of influence involves the entire variety of enthusiasts in choirs, dance groups, orchestras (participating in the National Song and Dance Festivals), amateur theatres, hobbyist crafters’ communities, etc., providing people with opportunities to participate in cultural life. However, this opportunity (both in terms of cultural consumption and cultural production) is also given to visitors to museums and libraries, which are scattered in various spheres of influence.

### **2.3 Cultural participation in Estonian public knowledge institutions**

As we reach Estonian public knowledge institutions in this thesis, it is possible to notice two important lines of force influencing the activities of these institutions. The first line has already been introduced in the theoretical chapters of the thesis, which spoke of values ‘universal’ to all public knowledge institutions. In the case of museums, these values are embodied in the interpretative and representative functions of the museums, whereas in libraries the provision of access and neutrality shape the everyday practices of librarians. The second line of force has been explained in the sub-chapters about the Estonian context as the Estonian public knowledge institutions, among many other cultural institutions in Estonia, foster Estonian cultural space and participate in the processes of reconstructing ‘Estonianness’. “Estonian cultural life has, for a long time, been characterised by its close connection to identity politics”

(Lagerspetz and Tali 2012: EE-4), becoming clearly an object of governmentality even though sometimes it is stated that the political control over culture has disappeared (Lauristin 2012: 13).

Cultural heritage, cherished both by policy-makers and many citizens, and the tasks related to it (acquiring, preserving, organising, making accessible) have been entrusted to public knowledge institutions, which are not merely repositories in which cultural heritage is accumulated, but also need to consider certain ideological goals related to fulfilling these tasks.

During the Soviet period, both libraries and museums served as “tools of cultural revolution” (Luts 1979: 5), on the one hand “eradicating illiteracy and educating the population” (Thomas 1999: 114-115 cited by Knutson 2007: 717), while on the other providing “moral education, one which would make for good Marxist/Leninist citizens” (Thomas 1999: 114-115 cited by Knutson 2007: 717). Directing visitors to formulaic truths (either manifested in books or carefully compiled texts accompanying exhibitions) stemming from new, Marxist modes of interpretation and representation (Luts 1979) took quite some effort. In museums, the exhibited objects needed to have headings in Russian, and events had to be organised to celebrate holidays which were related to the Communist Party or the Soviet regime (Kukk 2009). Censorship in its various forms flourished, touching on the selection of ‘suitable’ books from the old ‘bourgeois’ past, erasing or covering the names of ‘suspicious’ “translators, editors, commentators” with ink (Noodla 1991: 75), and demolishing or forbidding access to the rest of the books (Valmas 2009), so that during the Soviet regime, nearly 86% of books published in the former Estonian Republic were forbidden (Veskimägi 1996: 309). The number of books (both from ‘official’ and home libraries) destroyed for various reasons during the Soviet regime is unknown, but estimations vary between 10 and 30 million items (Liivaku 1995: 227). At the same time, new books were printed in huge numbers after they had passed through a “censorship system consisting of at least 6 levels” (Liivaku 1995: 185) – these books at least were cheap and easily available for readers (Liivaku 1995)<sup>24</sup>.

Quite in line with the thoughts of Foucault, mental repression in the field of culture was answered by various forms of resistance, both among people consuming culture and/or working as librarians. These library professionals, who had obtained their education before Soviet occupation, were considered particularly untrustworthy as they hid books, did not reflect all publications in

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<sup>24</sup> The biggest problem for the Communist Party was that the interest in books by classical authors of Marxism-Leninism and the leaders of the Party itself was very low both in libraries and in book shops (Liivaku 1995). The low sales numbers of ideologically laden books were raised by the ‘chain sales’ (‘ahelkaubandus’ in Estonian) strategy: the buyer of a bestseller was also obliged to buy something authored by Lenin or some leader of the Communist Party. As books were cheap, the buyers accepted the ‘extra’ books (Liivaku 1995: 211).

their inventories, etc. (Veskimägi 1996: 167)<sup>25</sup> To some extent, as at least some authors state that Soviet ideology at least indirectly was also feared to have some impact on the attitudes of librarians (Hillermäa 1993; Ainz 1993). For example, compiling bibliographies, or personal bibliographies in particular, was seen to be influenced by Soviet working culture, which “diminished the value of bibliography, caused its *suveniiristumine*<sup>26</sup>, and fostered disorderliness” (Hillermäa 1993: 25).

What is nevertheless important is that the pressure on the work of public knowledge institutions caused by the Soviet regime was by no means even. While after the Second World War the “literature categorized as Soviet-hostile or pseudo-scientific was isolated into notorious special collection” (Ermel 1993: 14), the years of the Khrushchev Thaw (from the end of the 1950s to the early 1960s) allowed larger Estonian libraries, including the University of Tartu Library, to exchange publications (Ermel 1993) not only with other socialist countries like the German Democratic Republic, but also with capitalist countries (Veldi 1977). Due to a lack of foreign currency (or rather *valuuta-rublad*, ‘valuta roubles’ (Loeber 1978)) allocated for libraries (Veldi 1977, Lumi 1993) the possibility to exchange books gained importance. After *Glasnost* in the mid 1980s the *majority* of previously forbidden books were made accessible, only books “propagating war, fascism<sup>27</sup> and racism” (Tingre 1988 cited by Liivaku 1995: 243) remained in the special funds of a few libraries.

Since the first years of regained independence, public knowledge institutions have experienced significant liberation from the ideological or propagandistic work described above, and have considered themselves ever since to be ideology-free institutions (Valm 2002; Sepp 2002), supported by a censorship-free era (Liivaku 1995). It became possible to look into the past and openly recall the burden of ideological work: for example, for several years after regaining independence, studying censorship in the library context became a topic explored in many works (e.g. Jürman 1991; Veskimägi 1996; Lõhmus 1994; Lotman and Lõhmus 1995; Loosme 1997). Especially during the 1990s, quite soon after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the impact of the Soviet regime on public knowledge institutions was questioned. The losses in book collections had to be evaluated (Liivaku 1995), the concern for the impact of this loss (paired with the previously limited freedom of speech (Triikkel 1993)) on the mentality of the Estonian way of thinking was expressed (Liivaku 1995), and the need to consider how to preserve the materials that ‘survived’ the Soviet regime (Jürman 1990) was recalled. The new societal order seemed to provide

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<sup>25</sup> Strategies to save books varied greatly during the Second World War and after as the representatives of the Soviet regime (and also of the Nazi regime) needed to ‘clean’ libraries and home libraries of ‘ideologically unsuitable’ materials. Such resistance was punishable and the sentence could range from firing from work duties (Mugasto-Johani 1990) to imprisonment and removal of political rights for several years (Lotman 1993).

<sup>26</sup> ‘*Suveniiristumine*’ might be translated as *souvenirisation*, a process in which an object is seen as a souvenir.

<sup>27</sup> In Soviet political vocabulary, Nazism was usually meant by fascism.

libraries in particular with new opportunities: the ‘information crisis’ at the beginning of the 1990s, manifesting itself in distorted or absent information about societal processes, was seen as a task that libraries could solve (Rannap 1992). Similarly, the idea of a national information policy was seen as promising for libraries (Rannap 1992). However, the Estonian information policy has by now become more and more ICT-centred, and the role of research libraries can be noted (Eesti infoühiskonna arengukava 2013; Eesti infoühiskonna arengukava 2020; Teadmistepõhine Eesti 2007–2013), while other types of libraries and museums can be found by reading between the lines when general slogans about ‘preserving of nation and culture’ are recalled. Yet within the framework of digitising cultural heritage, public knowledge institutions are well visible (Valdkonna arengukava). In both Estonian libraries and museums the marketing-oriented approach to visitors has been spreading, from rational consideration of various target groups (**Study II**, **Study III**) to explicit obligations to increase visitor numbers and therefore raise funds independently<sup>28</sup>, in addition to funds provided by the state or municipality (Hallas-Murula 2004).

Despite budgetary problem when ordering new publications (e.g. Valmas 1994), many Estonian libraries providing wide access to collections have once again become a priority. As books are lent not only to those visitors who can visit the physical premises of the library, measures are also often taken to provide services for these who are interested in reading but cannot, for various reasons, attend a library. The mission of (public) libraries is to “provide citizens free and unlimited access to information, knowledge, achievements of human thought and culture, to support lifelong learning and self-improvement” (Rahva- raamatukogu seadus)<sup>29</sup>. Access to information is also valued in the museums, yet as the nature of collection objects differs in libraries and museums, the purpose of museums is also seen somewhat differently, being more focused on cultural heritage: “The museum acquires, studies and preserves culturally valuable objects related to human and her/his living environment in particular field, and organises mediating these to the public on scientific, educational, and entertaining purposes” (Muuseumiseadus).

The tasks of museums and libraries are well calculated. Yet, the work of public knowledge institutions is both supported and limited by the state budget. Thus, Estonian public knowledge institutions have during past decades found

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<sup>28</sup> In Estonia, libraries are supposed to raise their own funds (*omatulu*, ‘own income’) on the basis of fine payments, income from renting rooms, of paid services. For museums, the ‘own income’ is earned from tickets and publications sales, room rental and provision of guide services.

<sup>29</sup> In addition, some Estonian libraries are said to receive compulsory copies to ensure nationwide preservation and protection of printed publications, audio-video materials, and electronic publications in accordance with the Compulsory Copy Act (*Sundeksempolari seadus*). According to this law, five Estonian libraries are entitled to compulsory copies of publications, among which the National Library of Estonia and the University of Tartu Library are supposed to receive compulsory copies of all types of publications either published in Estonia or meant for distribution in Estonia (*Sundeksempolari seadus*).

themselves in a paradoxical situation. On the one hand, Estonian culture as a mean to build national identity has reserved a special place in cultural policies. On the other hand, despite “investments in real estate and new infrastructure remain among priorities”, museum buildings are “often in poor condition, resulting in problems with depositories, exhibition halls, and working premises” (Lagerspetz and Tali 2012: 16). Compared to museums, buildings of Estonian libraries are in slightly better condition, probably due to the fact that in rural areas, a library fulfils many more functions than usually asked from a ‘normal’ library, and is therefore more visible in the community: it serves as a cultural centre, a meeting place, a news post (where all important local news are discussed), etc. The most recent development is that public libraries in rural areas are also deemed to provide postal services. Yet considerable budget cuts (both in libraries and museums) have also meant higher workloads for fewer people, meaning that the schedule of staff in public knowledge institutions is often filled with tasks that are related to keeping basic functions of these institutions in work, and so the possibilities for providing visitors with diverse options for cultural participation may be limited.

It may appear that possibilities for participation in culture, in terms of producing it, are limited for ‘laypeople’ in Estonia. In Chapter 2.2, the possibilities for participation in culture as an amateur were outlined, and in general one of the current priorities of cultural policy is also “to increase the possibilities of all members of the society to participate in cultural decision-making” (Lagerspetz and Tali 2012: 14). The role of public knowledge institutions as enablers of cultural production is very often related to providing a place (that can be seen, in Simon’s terms, as ‘hosting’ (Simon 2010)) where ‘cultural producers’ (both professional or amateur) can present their works in exhibitions, organise meetings with writers, give small concerts, etc. Cultural participation (as production) in the activities of public knowledge institutions is relatively uncommon, present in cases when visitors are invited to:

1. perform voluntary work, in addition to simple tasks related to everyday work in museums or libraries, also helping the collections of Läänemaa Keskraamatukogu (the Central Library of Lääne County) or Pärnu muuseum (the Pärnu Museum) to be moved from one location to another (Loonet 2011; Šalda 2011), or helping Narva Muuseum (the Narva Museum) to prepare for winter (Narva Muuseum 2011);
2. contribute into collections of public knowledge institutions:
  1. several libraries have their *desideratas* on their websites (sometimes hidden, in some cases easily detectable), e.g. the library of the Baltic Methodist Theological Seminary (Baltic Methodist), the National Library of Estonia (Eesti Rahvusraamatukogu). An interesting practice is noticeable at the Tartu Public Library: when a book belonging to the library is lost it is possible to compensate the loss by contributing a new book desired by the Tartu Public Library (Tartu Linnaraamatukogu),
  2. museums have sometimes called for specific objects to be included in temporary exhibitions, e.g. Viljandi muuseum (Viljandi Museum) asked

women to contribute documents and objects from times when they were young (Viljandi muuseum 2009), while in Tartumaa Muuseum (The Museum of Tartu County) a private collection of old dishes was exhibited (Tartumaa Muuseum 2012);

3. be correspondents to provide new content. This is predominantly a museum-specific practice with examples ranging from enthusiasts contributing to their village museum (Paluoja 2012), to the large networks of correspondents contributing to larger Estonian museums, e.g. the Estonian Literary Museum (Korb 1998).

In addition to the afore-mentioned cases, it is also possible that people without the professional backgrounds of museum or library staff, start a new museum or library on their own. In the case of such initiatives, e.g. samovarimuuseum (the museum exhibiting samovars (Laasik 2012)), Estonian Aviation Museum (Eesti Lennundusmuuseum), A-library (A-raamatukogu), the interest in a particular field, like samovars, aviation or alternative cultures, becomes the driving force to start a new public knowledge institution.

As the institutions this thesis focuses on are also among public knowledge institutions providing their visitors with opportunities to participate actively in their activities, more examples of the afore-mentioned cases of cultural participation will be presented in the following sub-chapter, which introduces the Estonian National Museum and the University of Tartu Library.

## **2.4 The Estonian National Museum and the University of Tartu Library**

Although Estonian national culture is embedded in multiple institutions, as shown in chapter 2.2, this dissertation focuses on cultural participation predominantly in two Estonian public knowledge institutions, the Estonian National Museum (ENM) and the University of Tartu Library (UTL). Both the museum, which is dedicated to Estonian cultural heritage “confirming the self-confidence of a nation” (Õunapuu 2011: 32), and the library as *the* oldest and largest research library in Estonia (Einasto 2009), are active participants in library and museum networks respectively both in Estonia and abroad and can be considered mediators of new trends in museology or librarianship. The Estonian National Museum “is an institution that collects, preserves, studies and disseminates primary sources about Estonian and Finno-Ugric peoples’ culture and its development” (Eesti Rahva Muuseum).

The turmoil of changes that Estonian libraries of museums have faced since the 1990s also touched the Estonian National Museum and the University of Tartu Library. The major change in polity meant updates in legislation relating to the work of these institutions, in collections (of these two institutions, mainly at the UTL) or in explanatory materials for exhibitions (of these two institutions, mainly at the ENM). Opening the borders to Western countries allowed

both the Estonian National Museum and the University of Tartu Library to become members of multiple international professional organisations. Transition to a liberal market economy brought trends of marketing to both institutions. This list of changes is even longer if we add global transformations to it: the spread of distance working, numerous developments in education (e.g. life-long learning, the information literacy ‘movement’ (Lau 2006), new learning methods (Dabbour 1997)).

It would be tempting to focus on cultural consumption and production practices at the Estonian National Museum and the University of Tartu Library over the past decades. Yet as cultural participation has been fostered in these institutions since their foundation, giving a short overview of the history of their work with audiences provides a more in-depth understanding of this phenomenon.

**The Estonian National Museum** has its roots in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when intellectuals, members of the Learned Estonian Society and the Estonian Student Society started to collect the heritage of Estonians, the ‘country people’ (Õunapuu 2011: 214). This activity was institutionalised in 1909 when the Estonian National Museum (then containing both oral and material heritage) was established. The first Estonian National Museum collections were acquired in 1909–1915 in the spirit of ‘rescue anthropology’<sup>30</sup> by enthusiastic volunteering young intellectuals, students – mainly men as in those days it was improper for young women to wander around asking for old items from strangers (Õunapuu 2009a: 667). Although the ENM itself was dedicated to the ‘country people’, “the true *raison d’être* of the museum”, the Estonian peasants “did not know, and often did not want to know anything about the museum” (Õunapuu 2011: 20). A thorough overview of perceptions of the ENM among the country people has been presented by Õunapuu (2009a), including both the positive and welcoming, but also the negative or even hostile, attitudes towards the Estonian National Museum’s collectors of heritage.

Within a few years, the attitudes of Estonians became more positive, so that the ENM became “[our] ‘own museum’ for Estonian people, [our] own Estonian thing to do” (Õunapuu 2009b: 66), and thus the first steps towards allowing visitor participation at the ENM were taken. Because of the lack of money it was not always possible to send volunteers to collect cultural heritage, so establishing the network of museum correspondents (founded in 1931) was a particularly efficient idea, meeting both the interests of the Estonian people, and of the Estonian National Museum. In addition, publics were reminded about the

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<sup>30</sup> The ‘rescue anthropology’ kept in mind by the contemporary heritage collectors, was caused by the fading of traditional peasant culture as new trends and fashions were spreading in rural areas. In addition, ‘competitive’ collectors – antiquity buyers, enthusiasts from varying associations and local museums, etc. – had in some places already earlier ‘skimmed the cream’ of heritage in the countryside (Õunapuu 2009a). However, as the First World War started during times of heritage collecting, in retrospect ‘rescuing’ the heritage had an even more urgent meaning.



museum through the organisation of various campaigns and events that were mainly initiated to raise funds for the building of the Estonian National Museum. In sum, in terms of Simon (2010) the acquisition-related activities of the Estonian National Museum during its first decades can be described as a major contributory project.

During the Soviet time, the status of the Estonian National Museum, previously a foundation, was changed. The museum was nationalised and focussed on ethnographic collections (and became the National Ethnographic Museum in 1940 (Astel 2009)), and more than before, as during the years of the independent republic when it also had ideological functions, propagating national culture, it was supposed to start informing its visitors in the ‘politically correct way’ through its exhibitions. In this respect, the museum received some criticism from evaluating committees as the “exhibitions lacked party principles, the exhibitions were apolitical and disorienting visitors” (Astel 2009: 223). In 1945, the network of correspondents was restored, yet the work with the correspondents’ network has become more active since 1957 (Astel 2009: 243). From that time on, the museum gained a certain stability, the ideological pressure on the museum weakened, and scholarly work could be restored by the end of the 1970s (Konksi 2009). In 1988 (before Estonia regained independence) the museum’s initial name, the Estonian National Museum, was restored, and priorities relevant before Soviet occupation were considered once again. On the basis of the network of correspondents the Friends’ Society of the Estonian National Museum was founded in 1993 (Sikka 2009). Although the Friends’ Society was a top-down initiative, started by the Estonian National Museum, it has ever since stood as a partner to the ENM, playing an important role in collaborative projects (in terms of Simon (2010)), e.g. introducing the ENM and Estonian culture in the form of exhibitions and events designed to celebrate archaic Estonian holidays (Sikka 2009: 403). A new permanent exhibition was established in 1994, and once again the question of a building for the museum was raised.

Earlier cases of visitor involvement might hint that further development of the Estonian National Museum, both its role in Estonia and the function of its new building, could also be matters of debate for the public. Yet it has not been so. Runnel, Tatsi and Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt (2011) have analysed the debate surrounding the new building of the ENM prior to the decision of the European Commission in 2012 not to fund the new museum building. According to these authors, the conception of the ENM in public opinion is very much related to ‘Estonianness’, briefly mentioned in the previous sub-chapter; that is, the museum is viewed “as the repository of the country’s romantic peasant past” (Runnel, Tatsi and Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt 2011: 329), which has also been continuously represented in a permanent exhibition established in 1994. Yet the architects of the winning project “completely ignored the common public understanding of the museum”, and attached the winning design “to wider contemporary historical debate” (Runnel, Tatsi and Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt 2011: 329), aiming to “find a symbol through which to open up the contested

issues of the recent history of the nation and give the control back to the people through spatial means” (Runnel, Tatsi and Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt 2011: 331). Ironically, ‘giving the control to the people’ failed as “meetings between engineers, museums employees and architects never involved discussion of the audience or its potential involvement” (Runnel, Tatsi and Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt 2011: 332), and because of its ethnographic nature, the museum views “the audience as a subject and source of information; its marketing efforts saw them only as notional ‘target groups’” (Runnel, Tatsi and Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt 2011: 334). The case of the ENM also reflects the organisational tensions related to change. Even though the Director of the Estonian National Museum, Krista Aru, expected the new museum to open possibilities for dialogue, the organisational culture “possessing established professional outlooks and long-term careers” (Runnel, Tatsi and Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt 2011: 332) was resistant to change.

**The University of Tartu Library** as we know it today<sup>31</sup> was founded in 1802. The library, like contemporary museums established at the University of Tartu, was created for academic purposes so that people without access to higher education had either no idea of their existence (Õunapuu 2011: 31) or had very little knowledge about them, veiled as they were with a mystical aura (Nigula 1982). Nevertheless, the University of Tartu Library has enjoyed an exceptional position for a university library, as in the days of its foundation it possessed notable “characteristics of a public library” (Tankler 1997: 115). Not only faculty members, but also other members of the local intelligentsia could use and support it. In the acquisition processes, the majority of faculty members were involved (Tankler 1997: 115), and during early years of the University of Tartu Library donations or purchases of private collections (of Baltic German statesmen, gentlefolk, scholars) helped to form the basis of the university library’s collections (Tankler 1997: 120). As Tankler (1997) has pointed out, the University of Tartu Library was formed on the basis of thousands of private libraries (“1802–1885 publications were donated to the library by 800 different persons” (Tankler 1997: 132)). Ultimately, we may assume that the number of donors indicates the importance of the University of Tartu Library for both members and non-members of the university.

Ever since, generally in a similar manner, the University of Tartu Library has served the needs of the faculty members and students of the University of Tartu, as well as the well-educated people outside the university. The allowances for the readers have varied from time to time, sometimes because of problems returning books by non-members of the university, or occasionally to foster students to read more scientific books instead of fiction (Vigel 1962: 91).

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<sup>31</sup> There was also a university library at the University of Tartu when it was called as *Academia Gustaviana* and *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* (respectively in 1632–1656, and 1690–1710), before the Great Northern War)(Tankler, 1996).

Occasionally, the help of volunteers was used<sup>32</sup> (Lao 1952?: 24). In addition to a reading room for faculty members, a working room for students was opened at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> or beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century – it was a place where the librarians could easily keep an eye (Lao 1952?: 26) on the visitors. In addition to the good times, when the university library had to restrict the number of new books arriving at the library, the University of Tartu Library also had to face difficult times with its visitors. For example, by the *fin de siècle*, in 1900, the library met a serious crisis as “the budget of the whole university had remained almost the same since 1865” (Parmas 1968: 11) but the wages of the faculty members still needed to be raised. The beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century can also be described in terms of oppositions: the need to reduce amounts of money<sup>33</sup> spent on scientific journals on the one hand, the demand of faculty members to continue subscriptions on the other. This opposition was solved by faculty members who asked for money from special funds of the university, to order the required publications (Parmas 1968).

Since 1919, as the University of Tartu started its work as Eesti Vabariigi Tartu Ülikool, or Tartu University of the Republic of Estonia, the work at the University of Tartu Library started to possess even more characteristics of the library that we know now. Since that time the university library has received compulsory copies (Puksoo 1968) and increased emphasis was put on the professional education of the librarians. Nevertheless, due to the scarcity of professional librarians, some positions – of assistant workers – were filled by students (Puksoo 1968: 35), as was the case for the Estonian National Museum, where the help of students was also used to collect cultural heritage.

After the Second World War the University of Tartu Library experienced immense changes in most fields of the library’s processes. Because of the establishment of a new “Soviet cataloguing system” (Kahu 1977: 117), as well as urgent tasks in special funds (Noodla 1991)<sup>34</sup> and poor physical working conditions, it was difficult to provide the necessary services for university members during the first post-war years and for some time “a visitor-hostile atmosphere emerged” (Noodla 1988 cited by Noodla 1991: 63). From the 1950s these problems began to be solved. Apart from traditional tasks (e.g. acquisition and cataloguing of books, helping students and faculty members in the library) the University of Tartu Library had also to ‘ideologically’ educate its visitors. For example, through book exhibitions, “the literature about Marxism-Leninism, the scientific-atheist world view, the build-up of communism, patriotism, friendship between nations, the fight of the nations of the world for peace and against colonialism and imperialism” (Kahu 1977: 122) was promoted. From

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<sup>32</sup> Unfortunately the author of the manuscript does not mention the purpose of the voluntary work.

<sup>33</sup> According to some sources this problem was general because, due to the war between Russia and Japan, the cost of war caused Russia’s poor economic situation (Lao 1952?: 3).

<sup>34</sup> The University of Tartu Library was, during the Soviet time, one of the libraries where a special fund was established, and where forbidden books from other institutions, including museums, were brought (Lotman 1991: 110).

the 1960s the professionals of the University of Tartu Library focussed on the information needs of scientists at the University of Tartu (Noodla 1969) in order to provide them with better information. In 1968, subject librarians started the work of fostering even better communication between faculty members and the university library (Maastik 1977). This link between the university and its library still exists despite reorganisations in the library structure in recent decades.

One of the most remarkable events (also influencing the work with visitors) during the Soviet period for the University of Tartu Library was undoubtedly moving from its old location in the former dome church to the new building specially designed at the beginning of the 1980s. The former building had had its own “holy [...] traditional working spirit” (Ots 1981: 10–11) as the main library had been there since 1806 (Ots 1981: 10). It was very popular among its visitors, always busy in its “peace of concentration, finding, creativity” (Põldmäe 1981b: 3), forming an “island of spiritual freedom” (Lauristin 2013). However, spatial problems had already been mentioned by the 19<sup>th</sup> century library directors. Slight alleviation had been found by some re-building (Põldmäe 1981a: 2), which eventually started to cause serious safety problems as the library contained more books than its construction was supposed to carry (Randver 1962: 2). The moving of the library’s collections to a new building had to be undertaken after very careful planning (Urba 1982). The new building was a solution for both problems and allowed the 3.6 million publications to be brought from six depositories all over the town to one place (Roogna 1981), improving therefore the accessibility to the library’s collections. The old library building has remained a memorable place for its former inhabitants (Põldmäe 1981b), despite the modernisation and convenience of the new library, which is now pursuing its own traditions. After the restoration of independence in Estonia in the 1990s, the need to “transform library services even more user-centred” (Miil 1997: 12 cited by Einasto and Ilus 2002: 167) continued in line with the working logic of the renewed university library. New concepts, predominantly inspired by marketing discourse, e.g. benchmarking (Lepik 2000), services marketing (Ilus and Lepik 2004), and service quality monitoring (Einasto 2009) started to shape the University of Tartu Library. In addition to faculty members, students were also not forgotten by the library professionals. Since the beginning of 1990s, the 1<sup>st</sup> year students have been given excursions or short voluntary courses on the usage of the University of Tartu Library<sup>35</sup>. The basics of searching for information are introduced during courses in the curricula of varying faculties (Tartu Ülikooli 2007), while since the mid-2000s specific courses have also been given by the subject librarians. Although the university library has maintained the communication with faculty members via subject librarians, the visitor-related activities are mainly conducted within the framework of library marketing.

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<sup>35</sup> Until the beginning of the 1990s the introduction to the university library was strictly obligatory within the “Sissejuhatus erialasse”, (Introduction to Fields) course (Tartu Ülikooli 1996: 17). Unfortunately, the start of such courses is not mentioned in this source.

### 3 THE AIM OF THE THESIS

The aim of the thesis is to analyse how cultural participation, from the perspective of governmentality analysis, is put into practice in public knowledge institutions of Estonia. In order to fulfil this aim, following research questions are posed:

1. How are visitors to public knowledge institutions governed by the staff of these institutions (**Study III**), and what are their responsive actions to governance (**Study II, Study III**)?
  - a. What articulations are used to perform governance practices?
  - b. What modes of governance are applied by the staff?
  - c. How do visitors resist these governance practices?
2. How are modes of cultural participation conceptualised and prioritised in Estonian public knowledge institutions (**Study II**)?
  - a. What underlying discourses and ideologies shape cultural participation in Estonian public knowledge institutions (**Study I, Study III, Study IV**)?
  - b. What modes of cultural participation are encouraged by the staff of public knowledge institutions (**Study III, Study IV**)?
  - c. What modes of cultural participation are considered relevant by visitors (**Study I, Study V**)?

## 4 RESEARCH DATA AND METHODS

Considering the research questions that were mentioned at the end of the previous chapter, qualitative research methods have been applied for the thesis. As this thesis aims to learn about methods of governance and modes of cultural participation, it can be seen as a “discovery oriented, exploratory” (Blaxter, Hughes and Tight 2010: 66) study, aimed at focusing on “the patterns, the wholes” (Kracauer 1952: 640) of communicative practices in public knowledge institutions. This means that instead of a representative sample of varying institutions the thesis focuses on two major Estonian public knowledge institutions: the Estonian National Museum, and the University of Tartu Library. The museum plays a prominent role in the Estonian museum landscape; the university library is the oldest and largest research library in Estonia. As these institutions play mutually complementary roles in culture, they are viewed together.

This doctoral thesis has been prepared under the aegis of Estonian Science Fund grant project “Developing museum communication in the 21<sup>st</sup> century information environment” (Grant No. 8006). During this interventionist research project (Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt et al. forthcoming 2013) several visitor interventions were organised at the Estonian National Museums<sup>36</sup>, one of the interventions also giving valuable research data for **Study V**. For some studies conducted during doctoral studies the data collected for other research projects have also been applied (and will be specified in following paragraphs).

The qualitative research methods applied for the thesis are the following:

1. general qualitative analysis,
2. a version of grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin 1998),
3. constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz 2006),
4. critical discourse analysis (van Dijk 2001),
5. discourse theoretical analysis (Carpentier 2010a),
6. qualitative content analysis (Titscher et al. 2000; Mayring 2000).

The methods listed above are applied to analyse a variety of interviews, documents and feedback. A short overview of the methods and data applied for the thesis is given in Table 1, while more in-depth explanations of the usage of the methods are provided in subsequent paragraphs.

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<sup>36</sup> The interventions were organised between 2009 and 2011, enabling various forms of cultural production for visitors and allowing the research project teams to study visitor participation. Within the framework of interventions, stories were collected (“Give the Museum a Day from Your Life”, in April 2009), exhibition feedback was fostered (“Exhibition Commenting with Pen and Paper”, autumn/winter 2010; “Museum Night Exhibition Tagging”, in May 2010), open curatorship was initiated (“Open Curatorship Exhibition”, 2010–2011), handicraft competition on the basis of the ENM collections was organised (“My Favourite Item in the ENM’s Collections”, winter 2011), and contributions in the form of a time capsule were collected (“Time Capsule for 2010”, in 2011)(Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt et al. forthcoming 2013).

**Table 1.** Summary of methods and data applied for the thesis

	<b>Semi-structured interviews</b>	<b>Key management documents, regulations</b>	<b>Anonymous feedback posts, and reflections</b>
<b>General qualitative analysis</b>	<b>Study I</b> , 12 with faculty members of UT	<b>Study II</b> , key management documents and regulations concerning UT Library <sup>37</sup>	
<b>Critical Discourse Analysis</b>	<b>Study II</b> , 12 with faculty members of University of Tartu (UT), 7 with personnel of the UT Library		
<b>Grounded Theory (Strauss and Corbin 1998)</b>	<b>Study I</b> , 12 with faculty members of UT		
<b>Constructivist Grounded Theory (Charmaz 2006)</b>	<b>Study III</b> , 12 with staff of Estonian National Museum (ENM) and Estonian Literary Museum (ELM), 7 with personnel of the UT Library <b>Study V</b> , 9 with handicraft hobbyists/contestants of “My favourite in the ENM collections”	<b>Study III</b> , 5 statutes and strategic plans, and 9 regulation documents of the UT Library, ENM & ELM	
<b>Discourse Theoretical Analysis</b>	<b>Study III</b> , 12 with staff of Estonian National Museum (ENM) and Estonian Literary Museum (ELM), 7 with personnel of the UT Library	<b>Study III</b> , 5 statutes and strategic plans, and 9 regulation documents of the UT Library, ENM & ELM	
<b>Qualitative Content Analysis</b>			<b>Study IV</b> , from 143 graduates from course “Basics of Information Literacy”

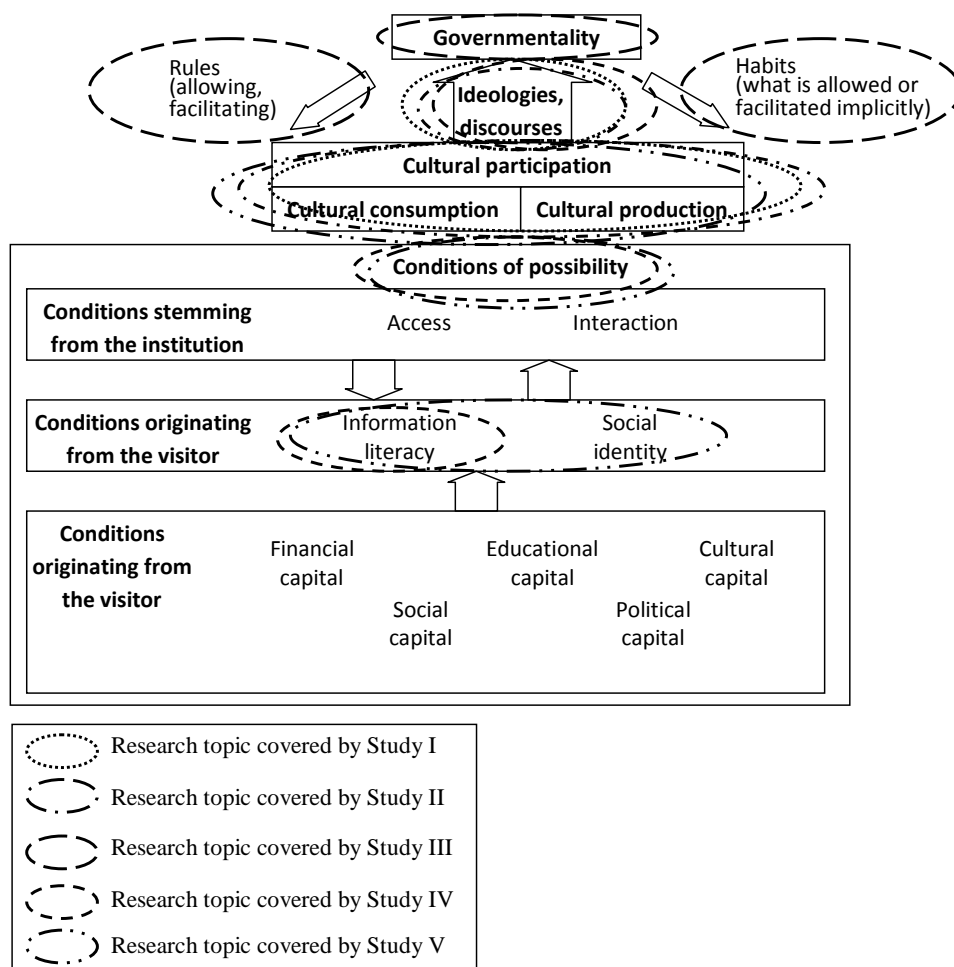
<sup>37</sup> See appendix for all management documents and regulations of the UTL and the ENM analysed for the thesis.

The methodology that is used in this thesis is qualitative, which implies that the principles of qualitative research are used. Important here is the iterative and open nature of the analysis, the emphasis on the interpretations and meanings given to various phenomena, and the use of sensitising concepts (Laherand 2008, Carpentier 2010a). The iterative nature of qualitative analysis (Laherand 2008) has allowed certain flexibility for the thesis, enabled me to review the aim and research questions, and enhance the theoretical and methodical approaches of the work, thus supporting the openness of the conducted research. The revision of the main principles of the thesis is justified not only by the iterative and open nature of the research, but also from the learning perspective, as first and foremost the fluency in both theoretical and methodical field is achieved through constant practise of academic writing and is reflected in studies conducted for the thesis. In addition, the thesis has been open to the interpretations and meanings of the staff and visitors of public knowledge institutions involved in this study. This is reflected in Table 1, which shows that the main data collection types applied in the thesis include semi-structured interviews and feedback posts enabling me to collect data for open-ended questions, and also public documents produced for the purposes of public knowledge institutions. Ultimately, the usage of sensitising concepts can be taken to mean the “ontological prudence in fixing theory and analysis” (Carpentier 2010a: 259). As depicted in Figure 3, it is possible to formulate particular research topics and treat these as sensitising concepts, although this does not mean that the entire “social reality” (Carpentier 2010a: 259) related to public knowledge institutions is actually captured.

Due to the number of studies conducted, the thesis presents an amalgam of relatively holistic views (Laherand 2008: 18), and details (Laherand 2008: 23) or in-depth approaches. The topical coverage of studies conducted for the thesis is presented in Figure 3.

On the one hand, **Study II** presented a ‘panorama view’ of visitors to public knowledge institutions shaping and being shaped by these institutions. The rest of the studies, on the other hand, contributed to the dissertation by examining notions related to cultural participation through the eyes of staff members of the public knowledge institutions (**Study III**) or visitors, e.g. faculty members (**Study I**), students of the University of Tartu (**Study IV**) or handicraft hobbyists (**Study V**). In addition, the choice of data sources and methods in all studies contributes to the data triangulation and methodological triangulation (Laherand 2008) of the thesis, thus helping to ensure the validity of the research conducted within the thesis. Data triangulation in this case means to the “use of a variety of data sources in a study” (Patton 2002: 247), and methodological triangulation “the use of multiple methods to study a single problem or program” (Patton 2002: 247). Apart from considering these two kinds of triangulation in the thesis as a whole, both data and methodological triangulation are also used to contribute to separate studies, e.g. **Study II**, **Study III**, and **Study V**, as shown in Table 1. Next, the methods applied for the studies will be outlined separately.





**Figure 3.** The topical coverage of studies conducted for the thesis

As mentioned before in this chapter, a series of qualitative methods were used. First, a more general qualitative analysis was applied in **Study I** and **Study II**. The general qualitative analysis in short refers to application of inductive categories, derived from the qualitative data (“in the form of words and images from documents, observations, and transcripts” (Neuman 2006: 157), but also deductive categories stemming from earlier theoretical assumptions, in variety of analysis techniques which involve “examining, sorting, categorizing, evaluating, comparing, synthesizing, and contemplating the coded data as well as reviewing the raw and recorded data” (Neuman 2006: 467). The categories result from inductive coding, carried out by identifying “text segments that contain meaning units” (Thomas 2006: 241), and creating “a label for a new category into which the text segment is assigned” (Thomas 2006: 241). In this way, “themes or concepts” (Neuman 2006: 460) emerge from the data, and can be used for various techniques of analysis. In **Study I**, analytical comparison

discussed by Neuman (2006) was used to find out about the availability of students' reading materials. In **Study II**, the categories relating to members in communicative networks of the University of Tartu Library were analysed, by using the sociogram to map "sets of relations" (Neuman 2006: 480) of the university library.

**Study I** helped to find answers to research questions concerning visitor perception of cultural participation (see also research question no. 2, and its sub-questions). In the heuristic model this study covers areas between governmentality and cultural participation, paying some attention to underlining discourses that have an impact on cultural participation, and also helping to explain what modes of cultural participation are considered relevant by visitors. For **Study I**, 12 semi-structured expert interviews with various faculty members of the University of Tartu were conducted in 2009 (from the beginning of February until the beginning of March); the faculty members were from 4 different subject areas of the University of Tartu: *realia*, *humaniora*, *medicina* and *socialia*. During the selection of faculty members the maximum variation sample was kept in mind to describe "the central themes that cut across a great deal of variation" (Patton 2002: 235). The variation among interviewees was achieved by 1) embracing different subject areas, 2) considering whether the interviewee taught students or not, and 3) considering the interviewees experience as a faculty member. The main purpose of **Study I** was to explore the patterns in the perceptions of faculty members of the University of Tartu about the university library, and on that basis, to outline the preferred modes of collaboration between the faculty members and the university library. The above-mentioned principles of forming a sample for this study eventually posed a contradiction with suggestions for grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin 1998) as the representativeness of concepts (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 97) was then seen as secondary, and rather, the variation in individuals (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 97) was considered to be important. Nevertheless, the 12 interviews provided sufficient data for **Study I**, revealing the prevailing perception of the university library as a supporting facility providing services useful to faculty members' everyday work, so that the data saturation was achieved within the interviews conducted.

**Study II** provided some insight into the sub-questions related to research question number 2 by presenting an overview of discourses and ideologies shaping cultural participation and helping to consider modes of cultural participation encouraged by staff or seen as relevant by visitors to public knowledge institutions. As a rather generic study, **Study II** can be placed in the heuristic model, viewing ideologies, cultural participation, and also conditions of possibility.

**Study II** benefitted from 12 previously conducted semi-structured expert interviews with various faculty members of the University of Tartu, and also included 7 semi-structured expert interviews conducted with the personnel of

the University of Tartu Library in 2009 and 2010<sup>38</sup>. In addition to interviews, different strategic documents and regulations directly concerning the performance of the University of Tartu Library (Statutes of the University of Tartu, Statutes of the University of Tartu Library, the Compulsory Copy Act, the University of Tartu Act) were analysed.

**Study II** is an elaborated version of a conference paper (Lepik 2010) presented at a conference entitled “Transforming Culture in the Digital Age”. For the conference paper, concept mapping of afore-mentioned documents was carried out and both the strategic documents of the library, and interviews with the faculty members and the library staff, were analysed using concepts of critical discourse analysis (the usage of this method will be explained below). Concept mapping proved to be particularly useful to understand the circle of users of the University of Tartu Library, as the ‘map’ of visitors became holistic only after using different sources which otherwise provided a scattered picture of various library users (Lepik 2010). Afterwards, in **Study II**, the results of Lepik (2010) were outlined and discussed by comparing them with re-reviewed strategic documents from the University of Tartu Library. The analysis for **Study II** can be characterised as inductive because different developments at the University of Tartu Library were analysed against a broader contextual framework, which eventually allowed discussion of the situation of users or visitors in the light of transformations in public knowledge institutions.

The rest of the studies applied particular qualitative research methods, yet in the case of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin 1998) it is possible to talk about application of few concepts of these methods.

The concepts of critical discourse analysis were applied in **Study II** in order to make sense of the discursive impact of various notions relating to visitors to public knowledge institutions. What critical discourse analysis aims to capture is the working of “language as social practice” (Fairclough and Wodak 1997 cited by Wodak 2001: 1), with special attention paid to issues of “struggle and conflict” (Wodak 2001: 2) or “production and reproduction of power abuse or domination” (van Dijk 2001: 96). Despite the fact that the aim of this thesis is not to seek manifestations of conflicts or power abuse, the dissertation still benefits from CDA in order to take a critical look at “the relation between language and power” (Wodak 2001: 2) in public knowledge institutions.

In particular, it was van Dijk’s (2001) variation of CDA which allowed me to analyse the impact of marketing discourse on public knowledge institutions. This was done by focusing on the “lexical style, coherence” (van Dijk 2001: 99) in the varying strategic documents of the University of Tartu Library and interviews with faculty members of the University of Tartu and personnel of the

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<sup>38</sup> These 7 interviews were conducted with the support of Estonian Science Fund Grant No 7162 – the author of this thesis did not conduct any of these interviews (this was done by Agnes Aljas and Pille Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt), but transcribed some of these and later analysed these interviews.

University of Tartu Library. In addition, van Dijk's approach to ideology has informed this thesis (as was described in chapter 1.1.1).

In a similar, probing manner, **Study I** applied the notions of grounded theory as is introduced by Strauss and Corbin (1998), e.g. the concepts of open coding and axial coding. Although there are several approaches to grounded theory, the common feature of all these versions is "conducting inductive qualitative inquiry aimed toward theory construction" (Charmaz and Bryant 2008: 374). In contrast to quantitative methods of analysis, in grounded theory the "data collection and analysis inform and shape each other and are conducted in tandem" (Charmaz and Bryant 2008: 374). In addition to which the dominant position of earlier established theories, "often known as 'received theory'" (Charmaz 2006: 165) is rejected in grounded theory because earlier studies are included in a grounded theory as comparisons, allowing the researcher to "show how and where [your] work fits or extends relevant literatures" (Charmaz 2006: 167). In **Study I** the main focus was on detecting patterns in the perceptions of faculty members about the university library, and outlining the methods of collaboration between faculty members and the university library. The application of principles of grounded theory helped to make sense of the data, categorise the perceptions and ways of collaboration during the process of open coding (Strauss and Corbin 1998), and detect patterns in collaboration during axial coding. The controversy in sampling, described some paragraphs previously, did not become an issue as the interviews provided saturated data. It is possible to argue that it was particularly the variation in the sample of faculty members, designed as multi-layered as possible, that fostered data saturation within 12 interviews.

**Study III** provided answers to research question no. 1, addressing the articulations and modes of governance of public knowledge institutions as well as the resistance practices of visitors of public knowledge institutions. In the heuristic model, **Study III** covers the topic of governmentality, and the rules and habits related to governmentality.

During **Study III** the constructivist grounded theory developed by Charmaz (2006) was applied. The corpus of data for this study consisted of interviews with top and mid-level managers combined with management documents and regulations generated by these institutions. The data consisted of 19 interviews, some of which were conducted, in addition to the University of Tartu Library and the Estonian National Museum, at the Estonian Literary Museum. 4 interviews were conducted at the Estonian National Museum and 6 interviews were conducted at the Estonian Literary Museum in 2008, 7 interviews at the University of Tartu Library in 2009 and 2010<sup>39</sup>, and 2 additional interviews at

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<sup>39</sup> In addition to 7 interviews conducted at the University of Tartu Library, the first 10 from museum professionals were also conducted with the support of Estonian Science Fund Grants No 7162 – the author of this thesis did not conduct any of these interviews (this was done by Agnes Aljas and Pille Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt). The interviewees (top and mid-level managers) were chosen as they were responsible for tasks related to user-generated content in their home institutions.

the Estonian National Museum in 2011. In addition, 5 key management documents (statutes and strategic plans) and 9 regulation documents containing the rules of usage of the collections, were analysed – the documents are listed in the appendix to the thesis.

In **Study III** the iterative nature of qualitative research was considered. This is particularly crucial in case of grounded theory, as achieving theoretical saturation (“when gathering fresh data no longer sparks new theoretical insights, nor reveals new properties of your core theoretical categories” (Charmaz 2006: 113) allows the researcher to stop gathering data, and make sure that no new data is needed. For this reason, the author of the thesis had to conduct 2 additional interviews at the Estonian National Museum, focusing on filling gaps in existing data.

In **Study III**, the visitor articulations emerging from the data were treated as sensitising concepts “giving initial ideas to pursue and sensitize [...] to ask particular kinds of questions about [...] topic” (Charmaz 2006: 16). Moreover, as the notion of a sensitising concept also has an important place in discourse theoretical analysis (Carpentier 2010a), an excursion to DTA was made. In particular, it was the DTA, drawing on notions from discourse theory (Laclau and Mouffe 1985) that allowed and fostered treatment of the notion of articulation as a sensitising concept (Carpentier 2010a: 160). It is possible that without being informed by discourse theory, ‘articulation’ might be treated as an utterance or expression put into words. However, this perception can lead to the treatment of visitor articulations in public knowledge institutions as simple expressions or words without any hint at the ideologies or discourses that inform these articulations, and even less at the potential of visitor articulations in performing governance practices.

In case of **Study III** it is important to mention that in addition to previously stated concepts (partly informed by the DTA) of grounded theory the principles of constructivist grounded theory were followed. This means that although constructivist grounded theory “retains, and even stresses the key facets” (Charmaz and Bryant 2008: 376) of grounded theory as developed earlier, it also holds that “both the research process and the studied world are socially constructed through actions, but that historical and social conditions constrain these actions” (Charmaz and Bryant 2008: 376). This allows one to consider “the inescapable effect of prior knowledge and existing literature” (Charmaz and Bryant 2008: 376) – in **Study III** it meant on one hand that the prior knowledge about the University of Tartu Library and its work helped better understanding of the context of the library<sup>40</sup>. The effect of existing literature, on the other hand, was useful when the visitor articulations had emerged from the data, although some of the articulations (e.g. of the notion of ‘stakeholder’ which is not yet a very widespread concept in Estonia) remained blurry and needed some explaining before continuing with the analysis.

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<sup>40</sup> Yet prior knowledge of the university library is not reflected in the results of Study III as the results are, as required, derived from the data only.

Constructivist grounded theory was also applied in **Study V**, explaining the modes of cultural participation seen as relevant by visitors, and thus covering the part of the conditions of possibility for cultural participation. This study involved data collected during an intervention that was organised both under the aegis of Estonian Science Fund grant project “Developing museum communication in the 21st century information environment” and for the master thesis of Marke Teppor (2011). For the intervention, an experimental contest “My favourite in the ENM collections” was organised, and for the master thesis, amongst other forms of collecting data, semi-structured interviews with 9 participants were conducted (and also transcribed by Marke Teppor). These interviews, despite being analysed for this master thesis by its author, were later re-analysed, focusing on aspects relevant from the perspective of **Study V**. In **Study V**, the methodological principles of constructivist grounded theory as explained in paragraphs above were considered. In addition, this study focussed even more thoroughly on the “definitions of terms, situations, and events” (Charmaz 2006: 32) of interviewees, and considered the “assumptions, implicit meanings, and tacit rules” (Charmaz 2006: 32) that inform understanding of the expert role of the Estonian National Museum. The characteristics of the ENM as an expert gave “points of departure” (Charmaz 2006: 17) which allowed me to understand the perception of handicraft hobbyists about themselves as visitors in relation to this expert. Later, the information about visitor/expert roles was used in axial coding, considering the influence of these roles on modes of cultural participation in public knowledge institutions.

Qualitative content analysis also proved to be a useful method and was used in **Study IV**. **Study IV** is used in this thesis to analyse the discourses and ideologies shaping cultural participation and modes of cultural participation encouraged by the staff of public knowledge institutions with the focus on information literacy. Within the heuristic model, **Study IV** fits to discuss the conditions of possibility of cultural participation. For **Study IV**, anonymous feedback posts (from 2006–2007) and reflections (from 2008–2009) provided by graduates (N=143) from the “Basics of Information Literacy” course were analysed. This distinction of years and types of materials was made in order to avoid overlapping usage of texts (provided by same students). Qualitative content analysis (following recommendations by Titscher et al. 2000; Mayring 2000; Stokes 2003; Laherand 2008) was chosen due to the relative heterogeneity of the texts: different texts often contained answers to different questions and for some issues there were very few corresponding texts. According to Mayring (2000) in qualitative content analysis the analysed material needs to be fitted into a “model of communication” (Mayring 2000: online); in the case of **Study IV** this was the text (in the forms of feedback and reflections) that researchers focussed on. However, in addition, **Study IV** followed the basic aspects of qualitative content analysis, determining the “rules of analysis” in the form of the code-book, positioning “categories in the center of the analysis”, and addressing “criteria of reliability and validity” (Mayring 2000: online). Due to the preferences of the reviewers of the **Study IV**, some quantitative data was

also included to introduce the distribution of significant categories in the student feedback and reflections.

For the analysis, inductive category application (Mayring 2000) was applied as a framework of inductive categories emerged after preliminary careful reading of student feedback. Each instance of feedback or reflection was treated as a separate unit of analysis. The texts were analysed in Atlas.ti, which helped the co-authors to code the text, discuss questionable ideas via memos, and set up a network of related ideas with handy examples. Although Atlas.ti was also used for analysis in **Study III** and **Study V**, the program proved to be particularly useful for collaboration between multiple authors, by enabling us to code texts consistently – in addition to using the code-book, the program allowed co-authors to check the earlier usage of codes in case of doubt. As Atlas.ti does not support simultaneous editing of hermeneutic units by multiple researchers, the work was coordinated with the help of a log file in Google Docs which allowed us to view who was conducting the analysis, and when, and whether the last shared work was available on the secured and shared network drive. To achieve intra- and inter-coder reliability (Titscher et al. 2000: 60), code practice, code-book revisions and discussions, and pilot coding were conducted. The inter-coder reliability was calculated after pilot coding, on the basis of “average reliability coefficients across all pairs of coders” (Neuendorf 2002: 161). The average inter-coder agreement of the pilot study was 87.14%, which has been found acceptable in most situations (Neuendorf 2002).

## 5 EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

The structure of the following chapter on findings is based upon two main research questions. First, by drawing on **Study III**, and also to some extent on **Study II**, attention will be paid to ways in which visitors to public knowledge institutions are governed by the staff of these institutions, and what the responsive actions of these visitors to governance practices are. Secondly, on the basis of **Studies I-V**, I will focus on modes of cultural participation, and explain how these modes are conceptualised and prioritised in Estonian public knowledge institutions.

### 5.1 Governing the visitors in Estonian public knowledge institutions

When we recall the vocabulary referring to people attending public knowledge institutions, a wide variety comes to mind. Some of these words are institution-specific, referring to library visitors, such as ‘readers’ or ‘patrons’ – note that in museum context the ‘patron’ is something different, something more exclusive. Yet some other words are more generic, ‘visitors’, and ‘users’ (the preferred term used in **Study II**), to be precise. It is common that in everyday speech we seldom think about the choice of these words, using them interchangeably, without delving into their meanings. Thus, the ways visitors are named are to be taken for granted, just as has happened for decades or even centuries. However, this taken-for-grantedness encompasses more than mere words as there are discursive practices that shape the communication and relationships between public knowledge institutions and their visitors and help these institutions govern visitors (discussed in **Study III**). Articulating can be used to empower or disempower visitors, allowing or disallowing them particular activities in the context of public knowledge institutions. The concept of ‘articulation’, following definition presented by Laclau and Mouffe – “any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice” (Laclau and Mouffe 1985: 105) – becomes particularly meaningful in the analysis of governmentality as it provides certain frameworks for governing visitors.

**Study III** has focussed on three visitor articulations circulating in Estonian public knowledge institutions: ‘the people’, ‘target group’, and ‘stakeholder’. It is crucial to point out that during the analysis, the articulations instead of occurrence of particular words (as with the afore-mentioned ‘reader’, ‘visitor’, etc.), were focussed on. Such an approach explains further shunning of concepts like ‘users’ or ‘visitors’, as well as of explaining the role of ‘people’, ‘target groups’, and ‘stakeholders’ in shaping the activities of visitors of public knowledge institutions. In fact, when we consider the scope of these articulations, it is possible to see how certain names given to visitors may to some extent overlap with particular articulations (but the purpose of **Study III** was not to



focus on it). The articulation denoting the broadest scope of visitors, ‘the people’, referring literally to all visitors, is activated in the similarly broad terms of ‘visitors’, ‘users’ or ‘readers’. ‘Target groups’, referring to all visitors as groups can be related to ‘customers’, with another similarity in that they both stem from marketing discourse, also explained in **Study III**. ‘Stakeholders’, as probably the most exclusive of these three articulations, can be seen as working within the concept of ‘patrons’ – if the ‘patron’ is conceptualised as someone representative.

Treating varying visitor articulations on the basis of their scope also demands some cautiousness, as there is a threat to depict these in a pyramid- or ladder-shaped model, implying a hierarchy of articulations, and even a hierarchy amongst visitors. It has to be declared that by no means did **Study III** treat these articulations as fixed or hierarchical (in terms that the same visitor groups would always be treated as ‘people’, ‘target groups’ or ‘stakeholders’, or some of these groups would be more valuable than others). Rather, these articulations are analysed as entire structures of negotiated and constructed meanings, allowing respective discourses to exist side by side. This way, the results of our study resemble to some extent the approach developed by Simon (2010) who also sees several participatory practices in museums as equally useful, and prefers none of these practices. These articulations shape and are shaped by visitor policies, and visitor-related work in public knowledge institutions. Involving power relations between the public knowledge institutions and visitors, the articulations allow, but also limit, visitor activities in the institutional settings, thereby enabling them to perform practices of governance. Because governing itself, as defined earlier in chapter 1.1, is performed by a ‘multiplicity of authorities and agencies’, it also involves an ideological dimension. On the “basis of the social representations shared by members of a group” (van Dijk 1998: 8) – a coherent ‘group’ like the personnel of public knowledge institution in this thesis – the articulations used to govern visitors are also ideological. As the articulations themselves sometimes overlap, and sometimes also contest, public knowledge institutions as governing agencies face, either willingly or not, varying articulatory possibilities that would best match their social representations and governance goals.

According to **Study III**, the first of these articulations, ‘people’, is a form of all-inclusiveness; that is, this articulation takes into account all those visitors whose interests in the collections of public knowledge institution are seen as general. The ‘people’ are treated as being in need of guidance, education, and to some extent also discipline in the sense of using the collections to avoid possible damage or improper use. Very clearly this articulation refers to outsiders deemed to follow general rules that the public knowledge institution has developed.

The second articulation, ‘target groups’ is also, at least in theory, all-inclusive, yet it distinguishes visitors according to ‘typical’ features as belonging to a perceived group: e.g. on the basis of age (children), occupation (faculty member), activity (tourism), geographical location (citizens of the town where a

particular public knowledge institution is located). Members of target groups are seen to have particular interest in, and need for, knowledge common to members of the same target group. Just as with the ‘people’, ‘target groups’ also treat visitors as outsiders who are deemed to align their expectations with institutional rules.

The third articulation, ‘stakeholders’ is the most exclusive of these three articulations as it considers only a small number of visitors who are attributed some representative power. This articulation denotes interest in the institution itself, not so much in its collections. Stakeholdership includes ideas of common interests that facilitate dialogue and enable staff to pursue goals common to institutions and stakeholders. Visitors as stakeholders are not perceived so being so much in need of knowledge, rather they can themselves be suppliers of information, evaluate products or services, etc. On the basis of representativeness, mutual interest, and knowledge relevant for public knowledge institutions, stakeholders embody the potential for partnership.

This choice may seem rather narrow, as the number of articulations is not impressive. Nevertheless, the historical roots and contemporary manifestations of these three articulations equip public knowledge institutions with substantive means for governing (focussed on in **Study III**).

Although the ‘disciplining’ function of museums and libraries, alleviating society of ‘social diseases’, introduced in chapter 1.1.2.3, has transformed over the long-term ‘civilising’ process, it still plays a dominant role in public knowledge institutions. ‘Disciplining’ also directs the visitors to use museums or libraries in a proper manner so that the early ‘healing’ purpose of public knowledge institutions is still present. On the one hand, visitors are given clues about proper usage of collections to prevent possible damage and let other visitors use the collections. On the other hand, visitors are directed to behave appropriately in a public institution, e.g. they are sober and quiet in order not to disturb other visitors. However, it also involves educating visitors so that they can gain as much as possible from:

1. exhibitions – museum-pedagogical measures are taken to increase the reception of new knowledge, but simultaneously to provide a pleasant experience,
2. databases – by providing courses within the university context, such courses can also give extra credit points,
3. and other sources public knowledge institutions provide visitors.

Although the educational function (a specific example is discussed in **Study IV**) is closely related to ‘disciplining’, this function becomes efficient after applying another governance strategy, ‘categorisation’. As its corresponding articulation, ‘target group’, distinguishes visitors on the basis of typical characteristics, the strategy of categorisation first creates diversity among the visitors, and then homogenises a particular group so that members of that target group behave accordingly. For example, if the students’ target group is expected to work in groups in designated areas of a university library, a member of a group of

tourists has to follow a guide through the building in order to get a better overview of the visited object. This example includes both allowances: what a target group is supposed to do and not to do. Tourists are not supposed to fall behind their group, nor are students usually supposed to be guided through the facilities. Categorisation, in addition to influencing the behaviour of visitors in public knowledge institutions, also aims to meet particular needs of visitor groups. This trait makes it such a powerful and rational governance strategy that it is not merely taken for granted, but also consciously developed in order to provide better visiting experiences for visitors of museums and libraries. Varying visitor studies, acquiring more and more in-depth understanding of visitor groups, attempting to understand visitors not only on the basis of their demographic, occupational, or geographical background, or visiting frequency, but also on the basis of their visit motivations (Falk 2009), or their pre-visit experiences, preferences, and knowledge (Pitman and Hirzy 2010), largely contribute to categorisation, and through this governance strategy, also to discipline, helping to better educate the visitor.

Governing strategies related to the third articulation, that of ‘stakeholder’, are exclusion and incorporation. These strategies are distinguished from the afore-mentioned modes of governance in the sense that they are not all-inclusive, and consider partner relationships with visitors within the frameworks of cultural participation. The exclusion creates a distinction between stakeholders and non-stakeholders, as only some of the visitors can qualify as such. It allows stakeholders to become partners, closely involved with institutions but still remaining visitors. Although visitors who are seen as stakeholders do not have a chance to participate in long-term decision-making processes, this articulation allows visitors to make suggestions or contribute to collections. In the working processes of the institution, these varying contributions are then incorporated to different degrees as not all contributions are worthy of consideration. This naturally happens through a ‘filter’, i.e. members of staff of public knowledge institution decide whether the suggestion is practicable, whether the item donated is suitable, etc. As modes of governance, both exclusion and incorporation are well-calculated activities containing endless efforts for the good of the institutions by well-educated and well-trained experts.

Although these governance strategies seem to and do contain rational activities, the effectiveness of governance also depends much on visitors and their reactions to governance. Just as any power relationship can potentially include resistances, modes of governance corresponding to three articulations can also to some extent be resisted by visitors.

First, disciplining may be resisted without a person visiting public knowledge institutions, failing to respect rules that libraries or museums have imposed on visitors, or showing only limited interest having entered; that is, in general rejecting the ‘purposeful’ usage of a public knowledge institution. The shift in position, by being recognisable as a member of a target group, or becoming a correspondent or volunteer – that is, a stakeholder – also entails

resistance to the disciplining mode of governance, and its corresponding articulatory practice.

The second governing mode, categorising, is the most rationalised of the three visitor articulations, so much so that it does not make sense to resist it. The analysis in **Study III** also reveals a little resistance: for example in the case where members of the target group of students tended to reorganise furniture so that instead of individual work in booths they could work in a group. The resistance was answered by the university library who provided suitable conditions for group work, and simultaneously disciplined members of this group into the appropriate behaviour.

Governing strategies of excluding and incorporating, related to the third articulation, are also very unlikely to be resisted because being addressed as a stakeholder needs some effort – so why resist something that has been worked for? One of the ways to resist these modes of governance involves contributing to public knowledge institution in a way that the visitor finds useful or that (s)he thinks matters to the institution (the ways of contributing are discussed in more detail in **Study V**). For example, the visitor may want to donate her/his manuscripts to the museum or a library without prior consultation of the institution about the necessity of these materials for the collection.

Although all governing strategies related to visitor articulations are to some extent resisted, the agency of visitors to resist these strategies remains relatively limited. As governing strategies have evolved through time, also within other social structures than libraries or museums, they are generally taken for granted. Yet there is no pre-determination that governance should be performed on one direction only; that is to say that one who governs in one context, can be governed in another. In **Study II** the nature of transformations in public knowledge institutions was discussed, pointing to origins of transformations that start at the institution itself. At the same time external influences from staff, visitors, cultural heritage, and the technological environment were considered. Thus, this resistance seems to be embedded in social relationships with visitors who have their separate agendas and their own understandings of the roles of public knowledge institution. Their role as visitors to the institutions can also be negotiated. They can decide whether they approve of marketing concepts and therefore their treatment as customers belonging to various target groups, whether they prefer a quiet modernist sanctuary-like library or museum, or whether they accept novel opportunities to contribute in the collection of these institutions (also discussed by Kjeldbaek 2001; Falk 2009). The development of cultural participation therefore depends on visitors more than they currently understand.

## 5.2 Conceptualisations and prioritised modes of cultural participation in Estonian public knowledge institutions

As explained in the theoretical chapters, cultural participation depends on underlying modes of governance and ideologies that set frameworks for cultural participation. The goals for which cultural participation is fostered in one or another way are pre-determined, leaving relatively little space for arbitrariness at the point where ‘cultural participants’ could choose whether and how they participate in culture (**Studies II, V**). As was introduced in chapter 2.2, a large amount of cultural activity is institutionalised in Estonia; that is, cultural participation is governed not only in public knowledge institutions, but also in all other cultural fields. However, Estonian public knowledge institutions *are* to the largest extent dependent on state budget, so the modes of governance with nationwide goals are the most evident in these institutions.

To a large extent, cultural participation as production is predominantly in the hands of professionals, and cultural participation for visitors to public knowledge institutions is equalised with cultural consumption (**Study I–IV**), with some exceptions (**Study III, Study V**). Modes of cultural participation are conceptualised through the articulations introduced in the previous sub-chapter (**Study III**), reproducing visitor identities related on the one hand to cultural consumption as is ‘appropriate’ in disciplining/education discourse (through articulation of the ‘people’, of which examples can be found in **Studies I, IV**) and marketing discourse (articulation of the ‘target groups’ analysed thoroughly in **Study II**). On the other hand, the articulation of ‘stakeholders’ introduces a more democratic discourse, allowing in addition to cultural consumption the invitation of visitors to produce culture, suggesting ways for collaboration with public knowledge institutions (**Study III, Study V**).

As stated in the previous sub-chapter, the articulations circulating in public knowledge institutions also impact, with their varying overlaps and contradictions, on modes of cultural participation encouraged by professionals at public knowledge institutions. At the University of Tartu Library, for example, the educational function is efficiently coupled with notions of marketing. Particularly for students, it is first and foremost an education institution, providing a well equipped place to study and meet (**Study I**). At the same time, the University of Tartu Library has taken a very active stance, developing courses for its varying target groups (**Study IV**), providing its visitors the knowledge that helps them participate in knowledge construction processes, or in cultural participation as cultural production. Yet, in the case of libraries, cultural participation is supported rather within the frameworks of cultural consumption, whereas cultural production is supported indirectly, taking place in some other setting (at the university, for example). As **Study IV** indicated, the ‘Basics of Information Literacy’ course that communicates the importance of finding information efficiently is well accepted by students who find it useful, and warmly recommend it to other students as well. The course meets the interests of students because it provides each student the opportunity to conduct infor-

mation searches on the topic which is most relevant to them, thereby meeting the particular interest of this target group (**Study III**).

Both at the University of Tartu Library and at the Estonian National Museum, the articulation of ‘stakeholders’ plays an important role, although it is not so visible in everyday work. Through the articulation of ‘stakeholder’ these institutions open up their democratic nature, being ready to treat at least some of their visitors as partners (**Study III**). These visitors, apart from having more in-depth interest in the public knowledge institutions than other visitors who are ready to consume the information products or services provided by the institution, are “representing the interests of other visitors” (**Study III**). Despite differences in numbers of stakeholders there are also notable similarities in the qualities of stakeholders of the Estonian National Museum and the University of Tartu Library. Certain faculty members at the University of Tartu can be considered stakeholders contributing some times to help improve the collections of the university library by recommending new publications, or helping to exclude out-dated ones from the collections. At the same time, the correspondents of the Estonian National Museum can be seen as representing the entire nation of Estonia, providing materials that cover varying aspects of past and contemporary life. As appeared in **Study III**, being somewhat cautious about inviting more visitors to contribute has its own reasons: ‘filtering’ (mentioned in previous sub-chapter) all the information provided by partners takes time and resources, and it is reasonable to restrict the number of stakeholders to a manageable number.

This cautiousness has worked quite effectively for the public knowledge institutions as visitors have had their own ideas about the Estonian National Museum and the University of Tartu Library, neither of which demand extra work from those visitors who wish to be stakeholders. As **Study I** revealed, although faculty members sometimes act as stakeholders of the university library themselves, they still view the library as if through the perspective of marketing discourse. The library is expected to be an important supporting facility; librarians are then seen as assistants helping to organise course packs of publications, and making electronic files in PDF format. The librarians are expected to possess professional knowledge about library work, to be knowledgeable about information resources, and provide answers to queries quickly. The librarians should also be kind, helpful, emphatic, and good communicators – just as with most people in the services sector. These characteristics are cherished, at least officially, by the University of Tartu Library, in addition to which its documents and the interviews confirm that the library treats faculty members as one of the university library’s target groups. Thus, the library has successfully met the interests of its patrons.

**Study V** introduced museum visitors who might be traditionally considered a ‘target group’ of the ENM, the target group of hobbyist crafters, by exploring their potential role as stakeholders in the museum, and by seeking possible ways of collaboration with the Estonian National Museum. Similarly to **Study I**, the results generally indicated a clear visitor perception of visitors as cultural

consumers. Further analysis of the relationship between the Estonian National Museum and its particular visitor group revealed how this perception appears and how it is nourished so that it has become viable for visitors, and becomes eventually taken for granted for them. The hobbyist crafters interviewed for **Study V** were pretty much aware of the essential tasks of the museum, e.g. acquiring, preserving, research, and communication. Yet the interviews with the handicraft hobbyists also showed a certain lack of expertise on the way in which they distinguished themselves from the public knowledge institution. Firstly, one of the traits that constitutes a museum, and is also applicable to libraries, clearly overlaps with the aspect of 'knowledge', which was also revealed by professionals. 'Knowledge' in this study is taken to mean knowing how to acquire, preserve, research, and communicate museum collections. Secondly, the knowledge that is preserved in a museum's collections is characterised through its large scale; it is inclusive both in terms of time, as the museum possesses objects from the past, and in terms of space as the museum has acquired both tangible and intangible heritage from all parts of the country. In both terms the museum possesses objects that are not available for individuals. Thirdly, the museum is characterised as a preserver of 'cultural treasures'. To some extent this trait is related to knowledge, as knowledge is needed to distinguish an authentic object from a replica, but at the same time preserving cultural treasures also needs a certain set of values, an appreciation of 'old things' that are sometimes not valuable in terms of money but are still valuable as cultural heritage. Fourthly, the museum has to face certain risks or conflicts of interest. Culture is temporal, ephemeral, so museum professionals have to make decisions on the choice of objects to be preserved, find a solution somewhere between preserving and exhibiting, and decide about digitisation. It is interesting to note that most of the traits that were revealed in interviews are actually relevant for public knowledge institutions as well – if not in relation to visitors then at least in identifying oneself as an expert in various management documents, for example. So it appears that in the case of the museum, the characteristics related to the museum as an expert overlap both in the perceptions of the personnel of public knowledge institutions (partially reflected in **Study III**), and their visitors (**Study V**). What the public knowledge institution cannot assume, and the visitor, a handicraft hobbyist in this particular case, does not by default reveal, is that despite their position visitors may possess certain expert traits. Visitors may have certain knowledge in particular fields of their own interest, a common interest in their own, Estonian, culture, share certain values related to cultural heritage, and last but not least, although admitting that they do not know much about museum work, may be able to propose various realistic ways to collaborate with the museum.

Having hereby outlined the key findings from the different studies, I will now continue with the discussion, looking at how these findings fit into the larger societal context.

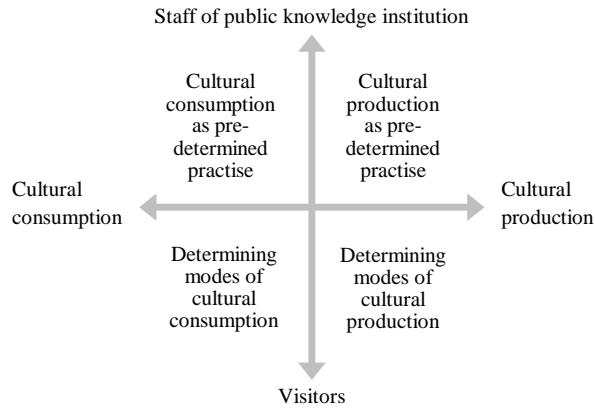
## 6 DISCUSSION

Although works of Foucault have previously informed other researchers (e.g. Bennett 1995, Graham 2012) about power relationships in public knowledge institutions, the current thesis adds its contribution in the field of media and communication studies by introducing modes for cultural participation in settings of museums and libraries within the framework of governmentality analysis. This thesis has focussed mainly on two large Estonian public knowledge institutions – it is possible that smaller museums and libraries govern their visitors in somewhat different ways. Nevertheless, the thesis provides analytic devices with which to understand the general working logics of (Estonian) public knowledge institutions, including their role in providing the possibility to participate in culture.

The thesis has provided a model of cultural participation in public knowledge institutions, pointing out that it cannot take place in an empty space, and that cultural participation has certain preconditions that need to be fulfilled so that it would be possible either to participate in terms of cultural consumption or cultural production. The thesis has introduced the preconditions for cultural participation, keeping in mind the origins of the conditions either stemming from public knowledge institutions or visitors, or in Giddensian terms, from structure or agent. However, within the framework of the thesis, preconditions stemming from the continuous interplay between structure- and agent-related conditions have been proposed.

In addition, this thesis adds sources of cultural participation on the basis of whether one participates in culture under pre-supposed circumstances (and takes it as a pre-determined practice), or does so on a certain meta-level by re-considering the domain and the mode of cultural participation for oneself. Cultural participation, in this case, can be depicted as a field of fundamental choices, as is shown in Figure 4. The choices need to be made not only by visitors to public knowledge institutions, but also by the members of staff of public knowledge institutions when they foster cultural participation. In fact, the latter is done anyway, but the question is *how* is cultural participation fostered. On the one hand, cultural participation can be treated as a pre-determined practice, embedded in cultural consumption and cultural production just as these have always existed. Both main forms of cultural participation are in such case taken for granted, and hardly questioned – either by public knowledge institutions, or, because of long-term governance, by visitors. On the other hand it is possible that new modes emerge either for consuming or producing cultural products. In Figure 4, this option is placed on the side of the visitors, but new ideas about cultural participation and the will to determine modes of cultural participation may occur in public knowledge institutions as well.





**Figure 4.** Possibilities of cultural participation on axis of cultural consumption/production, and participating/determining mode of participation

This takes us back to the general governmentality analysis, and to the corresponding revision of possibilities in the field of cultural participation. In Figure 4, not only pre-determined modes of cultural participation, but also the possibility to determine these modes becomes the object of governmentality. The issue is not whether members of staff or visitors are constantly choosing between cultural consumption or cultural production, but whether the possibility of revising determinacy of cultural participation is called into question. And if it is, then who would initiate the questioning? As in public knowledge institutions, the tradition is not hidden only in the cultural heritage that is preserved, but also in the ways that inform how to conduct the multiple tasks taken on or appointed to the staff of public knowledge institutions. The everyday work in public knowledge institutions is busy enough, and time for ‘philosophical’ reflection about determining modes of cultural participation is difficult to find. Nevertheless, it is particularly the staff of public knowledge institutions who have the best available knowledge about the visitors, and would thus be the best party to question the determinacy of cultural participation at their institution. The current thesis provides some analytical tools that may help the staff of public knowledge institutions analyse both their own practices and potentials to provide cultural participation. It helps to understand the meanings that are discursively directed at various visitor groups, and perhaps seeks extended vocabulary that would support new repertoires for participation.

When focusing on cultural participation, the thesis has explored theoretical viewpoints, sociological and political. It is tempting to take a stance, preferring one of these viewpoints over another. Indeed, the ‘threshold’ that needs to be stepped over to participate culturally, can be very different. What is considered ‘active’ cultural participation from sociological perspective can be seen as a mere illusion of participation in the political tradition, and at the same time, what is treated as participation from the political viewpoint can be seen as

excessive interference in the domain of cultural experts in the sociological field. By relying on theoretical works and empirical results, the suggestion in this thesis is to provide visitors with varying possibilities for cultural participation – without expecting participation in cultural production at any cost, yet also enabling visitors to public knowledge institutions to contribute in more flexible ways. In addition, if we rely on Figure 4, which also takes into account the decision-making moment in cultural participation, the choice of determining a suitable mode of cultural participation needs to be introduced if applicable, yet it cannot be assumed that in all cases this choice is accepted. Rather, there is a threat that too many choices in culture lead to a situation in which there is no alternative but to choose (as already suggested by Giddens (1994)), and the impression of getting lost in one's own cultural space can easily emerge.

However, the number of choices of cultural participation for visitors to Estonian public knowledge institutions does not seem to be a threat in the near future. The author of the thesis acknowledges that due to the scarcity of the resources (related to time and skills) needed to elaborate cultural participation, it is often more convenient to continue with the status quo, without feeling the expert position of the staff endangered by potential newcomers or amateurs. Opening up an organisation for people who do not commit themselves to its causes (by working there, for example) means that certain traits that are embedded in organisational culture, traditionally known only to the staff, can potentially become revealed to 'amateurs'. From the governmentality perspective, this possibility increases the amount of unpredictability in governance. Yet, without ensuring that implicit values of the public knowledge institutions are unequivocally explained to cultural participants, misunderstandings in communication can occur more easily than would be the case with pre-determined modes of cultural participation (which is usually related to cultural consumption). To give a safe example, the phrase 'inside joke' would depict such a situation. The joke is usually fully understandable for insiders (the staff of public knowledge institutions), while for 'outsiders' (visitors) the joke is misinterpreted. This may result in a variety of unpredictable consequences.

As appeared in the chapter explaining the context of cultural institutions in Estonia, constant scarcity related to the liberal economic model frames everyday work at public knowledge institutions. The fact that these institutions confront the issues of 'survival' on a daily basis allows a parallel to be drawn with Inglehart's (2006) work concerning global values. According to this article, in Estonian society values related to survival are the prevailing values of self-expression, yet values related to self-expression are stated to be in strong correlation (" $r = .90^{***}$ " (Inglehart 2006: 132)) with the effectiveness of democracy. As Inglehart (2006) also puts it, in the case of the former Soviet Union republics, we can see that values on axes of survival or self-expression have an impact on democracy, but not vice versa, as "democratic regimes do not necessarily produce self-expression values" (Inglehart 2006: 133). Yet, as the survival values dominate in society, these values can also be reflected by public knowledge institutions, and their participatory practices, involving both staff

and visitors. The recent recession has had a particular impact on the financing of public knowledge institutions, and may bring drawbacks by letting institution members fulfil primary work tasks, and leave little space for experimentation. In this situation particularly, governmentality, knowingly considered in the context of public knowledge institutions, might help to better calculate the steps taken to foster cultural participation.

The discussion about the governmentality potential of the cultural institutions has not been very prominent in Estonia. 2013 has officially been declared the year of cultural heritage (*Kultuuripärandi aasta 2013*) and together with discussion of the issues of heritage, the role of institutions and publics in negotiating heritage and its value should be discussed. Thus, the current thesis also has its public and political implications by re-considering the role of various public knowledge institutions in terms of governmentality, recalling the underlying aims of governance, and explaining governmentality principles in particular institutions.

In the light of current developments in the library and museum landscape, understanding the workings of governance would be particularly helpful for libraries. Recent years have introduced several decisions that seem to be in contrast to the traditional values of public libraries and to undermine the expertise of librarians as decision-makers at their home institutions. These examples mainly include re-distributing funds, either through lists of books and journals which are ordered to public libraries for funds allocated by the Ministry of Culture or local municipalities (Sibrits 2011), or funding only purchases of e-books in the future (Lang 2013). However, it is also not rare to add the tasks of post offices to small public libraries in rural areas (Ernits 2012). As one of the cultural institutions most dependent on decisions made by the Ministry of Culture, the ideal of neutrality may start to work against libraries. This is particularly notable in critical situations where being neutral reduces the position of public libraries as possible negotiators in the decision-making processes, as this perceived neutrality makes public libraries downscale partners to decision-making bodies. In this case, public libraries could first and foremost become instruments of governmentality for stronger governance institutions without their own notable agenda. On the one hand, becoming a governed subject is not problematic as a governing body in one context may be governed in another (Dean 1999). Yet, on the other hand, the possible conflict between values may be a source of conflict, and dangerous for public knowledge institutions' basic foundations if the position of these institutions is undermined. Therefore, clear perception of libraries own philosophical and ideological foundations would be useful, relating cultural participation to modes of governance and helping these institutions to become worthy partners even for decision-makers outside libraries.

Considering the overall role of public knowledge institutions in Estonia, agenda-setting also becomes a critical feature of the Estonian National Museum and the University of Tartu Library. Due to the prominent positions of these two public knowledge institutions it is possible to ask whether the role of the ENM

and the UTL is just to 'serve' their target groups, or could it be even more. In case of the Estonian National Museum the participatory interventions (reflected in Tati 2013) conducted so far have revealed the tension between communicating neat tales about romantic peasant culture, and initiating participatory projects where new ideas and suggestions of visitors could be heard. The tension becomes particularly ambivalent as communicating the romantic peasant past is often among the expectations of participants, whereas the options to participate, proposed by the museum are approached with certain cautiousness.

Similarly, as this thesis has shown, the University of Tartu Library is often communicated and thus treated as a service-providing facility of the University of Tartu, but at the same time it also has the potential to involve faculty members, and become involved by faculty members, as a partner in various projects. Thus, not only today, but also in the future the ENM and the UTL need to be able to critically assess their positions in terms of their capabilities to govern their visitors. As has already been pointed earlier in the discussion, one or another mode of cultural participation for its own sake cannot be the final purpose of governance. The critical approach to governing visitors includes considering possibilities of cultural participation as shown in Figure 4, introducing and then leaving visitors with choices of how to participate in culture. The significant role of the ENM and the UTL in the Estonian cultural 'landscape' also shows the promise of introducing these choices to both their visitors and other public knowledge institutions.

In addition to practical and political implications for public knowledge institutions in Estonia, the thesis contributes to the field of media and communication studies by analysing cultural participation within the framework of the analytics of governmentality. At a more abstract level this means that participatory practices in general can be treated as practices of governance, whereas the disposition of control and freedom is a matter of struggle between various strategies. As shown in Figure 4, this applies to various pre-determined modes of participation, and also to the possibility to propose some other option for participation. Considering the context of Estonia as a post-Communist transition society the thesis also emphasises the societal context shaping various modes of governance. Likewise, by studying conditions for the possibility of participation, the thesis has contributed by pointing to conditions that shape counter-strategies to governance.

The current thesis also has its limitations. Firstly, the institutions focussed on (the Estonian National Museum and the University of Tartu Library) are two of the most regulated public knowledge institutions in Estonia, having sets of governmental rules 'prescribed' by various regulations, acts and documents (see also Appendix). Other public knowledge institutions, despite general acts that regulate their activities, are somewhat differently governed and might also use different governing strategies. Yet on the basis of studies conducted for the thesis it is possible to claim that concepts of governmentality are common to other institutions as well, varying, through their focus and repertoires, in the way they participate in culture.

Secondly, the thesis consists of relatively small-scale qualitative studies. This is explained at least to some extent by the nature of the current research topic, which is hardly coverable by quantitative studies. As the thesis provides some analytical clues, it is, on the one hand, possible to study similar cultural phenomena in the future, in the context of other new initiatives and activities of public knowledge institutions. In the situation where the construction of a new building for the Estonian National Museum has started, such studies are particularly important. On the other hand, the thesis provides analytical equipment with which to study various institutions in Estonia and in other countries to see whether there are similarities or differences in governmentality, and if yes, what do these similarities or differences depend on. Because the context of Estonia (as a post-Communist transition society) has played an immense role in current thesis, it is possible to assume that governmentality can be context-dependent in other settings as well. Further analyses would provide answers as to what extent governmentality in public knowledge institutions depends on context, and how does the context influence cultural participation in these institutions.

Thirdly, the thesis has focussed on governance practices in the context of public knowledge institutions. Yet, being inspired by this thesis would also present that challenge of analysing the role of public knowledge institutions in the processes of the governing of the self (c.f. Foucault ([1983] 2011)). In this case, any visit paid to a library or a museum would be approached from the perspective of the individual, treating the museum or library visit as one of the multiple strategies with which to shape oneself. This approach would contribute to the studies focusing on visitor identities, similar to Falk (2009, 2011) or Pitman and Hirzy (2010). In the Estonian context, this focus would be supported by waves of quantitative data collection in MeeMa, yet would also benefit from a qualitative framework that considered aspects of governmentality. Such analysis would provide more thorough understanding of the role of museums and libraries in the lives of visitors (and also non-visitors) as self-governing individuals.

## 7 CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has drawn attention to relationships between power and knowledge, and to ideologies that are adopted in work in institutions where seemingly these notions have lost their meaning some time previously. It has also focussed on two distinguishable modes of cultural participation in settings where predominantly just one mode, usually that of referring to cultural participation as cultural consumption, is prioritised. This thesis has also, in a somewhat Enlightenment spirit, analysed the role of information literacy as a precondition for cultural participation, and pointed to the importance of the social identity of the visitor in shaping the possible participatory event. Finally in this thesis, modes of resistance (by visitors) to certain activities have been outlined. Apparently, all of these phenomena refer to the presence of governmentality, which informs social practices no matter how emancipatory these practices are.

Governance or 'conducting conduct' has in this dissertation been viewed on multiple levels. First, governing has taken place beyond public knowledge institutions, being a part of cultural policies, of regenerating identities related to a nation. Secondly, public knowledge institutions have been seen applying their own modes of governance to visitors, by using certain articulations to achieve certain goals. Thirdly, resistances to modes of governance by visitors have also indicated the agency of visitors. This way, the empirical results in line with theoretical chapters show that although in a seemingly ideology-free context, the process of governing visitors still takes place, being still supported by new underlying discourses related to shifts in education, marketing and democracy, as well as shifts in ideologies emphasising the continuity of the independence of Estonia, and returning to the 'Western world'.

The aim of the thesis was to analyse how cultural participation, from the perspective of governmentality analysis, is put into practice in public knowledge institutions of Estonia. The conclusions, based on doctoral research and set into the framework of the research questions, are the following.

### **1. How are visitors of public knowledge institutions governed by the staff of these institutions, and what are their responsive actions to governance?**

The visitors of public knowledge institutions are governed by using several articulations (such as 'people', 'target groups', and 'stakeholders') that create specific allowances for cultural participation. As modes of governance related to these articulations are very well calculated and rational, governing is usually performed as appropriate for the public knowledge institution, and meets little resistance (**Study III**).

### 1. What articulations are used to perform governance practices?

With the articulation of the 'people', all visitors to a public knowledge institution are kept in mind. As individuals having generic needs and interests in the collections of public knowledge institutions the 'people' are treated as outsiders in relation to a museum or a library.

The articulation of 'target groups' also takes in all visitors of public knowledge institution, yet groups them according to certain characteristics which are seen to be related to specific interest in collections and need for information. 'Target groups', too, are outsiders.

The articulation of 'stakeholders' is reserved exclusively for visitors who usually have representative power (to represent another visitor group). The articulation of 'stakeholders' involves visitors who are seen to have interest in the public knowledge institution itself, and who also have resources that can be useful for public knowledge institutions.

### 2. What modes of governance are applied by the staff?

With certain precautions the 'people' are disciplined to use the collections of the public knowledge institutions appropriately, and educated to use the collections for their own benefit.

The articulation of 'target group', in addition to disciplining, governs the visitors via categorisation, determining ways according to which members of particular target groups are supposed to 'conduct' themselves in public knowledge institutions.

On the basis of the 'stakeholder' articulation, some visitors are rendered almost partners (the inclusion of 'stakeholders' is never complete) who can be governed by exclusion (of the rest of the visitors) and incorporation (of the suggestion and/or resources they have).

### 3. How do visitors resist these governmental practices?

The articulation of 'people' can be resisted by not visiting the public knowledge institution, or by responding to the other two articulations.

The articulation of 'target group' can be resisted with the attempt to do things in ways other than is common in a particular target group.

The articulation of 'stakeholder' can be resisted when there is an attempt to govern visitors by incorporation. This can be affected by having one's own agenda which does not overlap with that of the institution (although this is usually deemed irrational because being a 'stakeholder' is not just a label attached to a certain visitor group – it takes some effort to become a stakeholder).

## **2. How are modes of cultural participation conceptualised and prioritised in Estonian public knowledge institutions?**

1. What underlying discourses and ideologies shape cultural participation in Estonian public knowledge institutions?

Cultural participation in Estonian public knowledge institutions is generally shaped by discourses related to education, marketing, and also to democracy (**Study I, Study III, Study IV**). As Estonian public knowledge institutions are largely supported by the state their ideological function is predominantly to support the narrative of continuity of the independence of Estonia, and uphold cultural phenomena that confirm the narrative of ‘the return to the Western world’.

2. What modes of cultural participation are encouraged by the staff of public knowledge institutions?

In public knowledge institutions, cultural participation as cultural consumption is encouraged within given frameworks (**Study II, Study III, Study IV**). Cultural participation as cultural production has its historical roots in Estonian public knowledge institutions (particularly strong at the Estonian National Museum), yet it is also fostered mostly in pre-determined space. The cases when visitors themselves would determine modes of cultural participation are very rare for several reasons.

3. What modes of cultural participation are considered relevant by visitors?

The perception of cultural participation among visitors is in congruence with the practices of public knowledge institution. That is, cultural consumption is seen as the predominant mode of cultural participation (**Study I**). Yet, visitors may still have their opinions about cultural production (**Study V**). As cultural participation is in the context of public knowledge institutions initiated by the institutions, museums and libraries need to notice particular visitor groups who may be interested in potential contribution to a public knowledge institution.



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## SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

### Valitsemiskunst ja kultuuriosalus Eesti avalikes teadmusasutustes

Doktoritöö „Valitsemiskunst ja kultuuriosalus Eesti avalikes teadmusasutustes” valmib 2013. aastal<sup>41</sup>, mis on Eestis ametlikult pühendatud kultuuripärandile. Omal moel on kultuuripärandile pühendatud ka käesolev doktoritöö, milles uuritakse, missugused külastajatele suunatud kultuuriosaluse (kui kultuuri tarbimise ja loomise) võimalused on tuvastatavad Eesti muuseumide ja raamatukogude „maastikul”. Nimetatud pühendumine saab aga teoks väga spetsiifilise teoreetilise raamistiku kaudu: nimelt on doktoritöö **eesmärgiks** analüüsida, missuguste valitsemiskunsti (*governmentality*) mehhanismide kaudu kultuuriosalust avalikes teadmusasutustes praktiseeritakse. Konkreetsemalt aitavad sellele uurimiseesmärgile vastuseid leida **uurimisküsimused**, mis on pühendatud esmalt sellele, **kuidas avalike teadmusasutuste külastajaid nende asutuste töötajate poolt „valitsetakse”** ning **kuidas külastajad vastavale „valitsemisele” reageerivad**. Teise uurimisküsimuste ploki varal püütakse aga teada saada, **missuguseid kultuuriosaluse võimalusi Eesti avalikes teadmusasutustes on võimalik tuvastada ning milliseid nendest võimalustest on muuseumides ja raamatukogudes teistest olulisemale kohale seatud**. Doktoritöö raames kirjutatud uurimused on teostatud Eesti Rahva Muuseumi ja Tartu Ülikooli Raamatukogu töötajate ning külastajatega, analüüsides nendega tehtud intervjuusid, nende tagasisidesid, ja ka nimetatud asutuste strateegilisi dokumente.

Dissertatsioon põhineb **teoreetisel eeldusel**, mille kohaselt võim ja valitsemiskunst ei ole pelgalt poliitikute pärusmaa, vaid et need nähtused ulatuvad väga erinevatesse ühiskonnakihtidesse ja valdkondadesse. Taoline Foucault’lik lähenemisviis võimaldab meil vaadelda erinevaid sotsiaalseid suhteid kriitiliselt, analüüsida sealseid „poliitilisi” aspekte, kuid ühtlasi lubab seepöörata tähelepanu võimusuhtesse kui millessegi paratamatusse, kõikjal paiknevasse (Foucault 1983). Sellest tulenevalt ei käsitleta siin doktoritöös võimusuhteid, mida avalikest teadmusasutustest leida võib, tingimata negatiivsetena. Sarnaselt lähenetakse doktoritöös ka muuseumide ja raamatukogude ideoloogilisele rollile. Kuna aga Foucault ise käsitles ideoloogiaid problemaatilistena, teatud klassi huve teenivaina (Foucault [1969] 2002), on töös tuginetud van Dijki (1998) ja Mannheimi ([1929] 1985) käsitletele ideoloogiast, mis mõtestavad lahti ideoloogiaid selle mõiste üldisemas, teatud jagatud ideederuumi tähenduses. See samm võimaldab analüüsida Eesti avalikke teadmusasutusi ideoloogilistena (hoolimata vihjetest poliitilise või ideoloogilise surve kadumise kohta kultuuris (Sepp 2002; Valm 2002; Lauristin 2012)) ning seeläbi omakorda seostada kultuuriosaluse teemat valitsemiskunsti strateegiatega.

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<sup>41</sup> Doktoritöö on kirjutatud uurimisprojekti „Muuseumikommunikatsioon 21. sajandi info-keskkonnas” (ETF8006) raames.

Valitsemiskunst, kasutades selle mõiste selgitamiseks jätkuvalt foucault'liku lähenemist, tähendab hästi lühidalt öeldes inimeste käitumise juhtimist: „[A] set of actions upon other actions” (Foucault 1983: 220) või ka „conduct of conduct” (Gordon 1991:2) on võimalused, mida teoreetikud on valitsemiskunsti defineerimisel kasutanud. Mõnevõrra pikemalt lahtiseletatuna tähendab valitsemiskunst teatud määral kalkuleeritud ja ratsionaalset tegevust, mida teostavad erinevad võimu rakendavad isikud ning institutsioonid, kasutades selleks erinevaid teadmistega seotud tehnikaid ja vorme – seda selleks, et mõjutada inimeste käitumist läbi nende soovide, pürgimuste, huvid ning uskumuste (Dean 1999). Erinevalt distsiplineerimisest (Foucault [1975] 1991) on valitsemiskunst seega õrn, vaevumärgatav moodus inimeste kontrollimiseks, pakkudes välja „jõujooni, mis teevad teatud käitumisviiside esinemise teistest viisidest tõenäolisemaks” (Bröckling, Krassmann ja Lemke 2011: 13). Oma vaevumärgatavusega loob valitsemiskunst hulga enesestmõistetavusi, mida saab vastava analüüsi varal uurida.

Üheks enesestmõistetavustest on laiemas plaanis ka kultuuriosalus, mis muuseumides ja raamatukogudes on aegade jooksul omandanud omad tunnused. Doktoritöös pööratakse tähelepanu kahele olulisele traditsioonile, mille kaudu kultuuriosalust on võimalik defineerida. Ühest küljest mõjutab vaateid kultuuriosalusele sotsioloogiline vaatenurk, mis rõhutab eeskätt kultuuri tarbimist (vt Pronovost 2002; Morrone 2006). Teisest küljest saab kultuuriosalusele aga poliitiliselt läheneda, vaadeldes kultuuri loomise praktikate kujunemist ja kujundamist: võimalust, et ka kultuuriasutuste külastajatel (amatööridel) on põhjust nendes praktikates kaasa lüüa (vt Carpentier 2007, 2001; Dalsgaard, Dindler ja Eriksson 2008; Simon 2010; Goodnow 2010). Mis on siinkohal kindlasti oluline: valitsemiskunsti analüüsi seisukohast ei saa väita, nagu oleks üks või teine lähenemisviis kultuuriosalusele “korrektne” või “parem” võrreldes teisega – küsimus on pigem kummagi perspektiivi selges väljendamisest ja mõlema kultuuriosaluse viiside võimaldamises. Lõpliku otsuse langetab aga muuseumi või raamatukogu külastaja ise. Mõnevõrra keerulisemaks, samas ka põnevamaks muudab kultuuriosaluse käsitlemise asjaolu, et kohati võivad kultuuri tarbimise ja loomise piirid hakata hägustuma.

Kultuuriosaluse käsitlemisel on doktoritöös tähelepanu pööratud ka erinevatele tingimustele, mis kultuuriosalusele aluse panevad. Eriti tänapäeva Eesti ühiskonnas, mille meediasüsteem korrutab otsekui mantrana, kuid vaevumärgatavate tulemustega erinevate ühiskonnaliikmete sotsiaalprobleeme, on nendele tingimustele tähelepanu pööramine äärmiselt oluline. Kultuuriosalus ei saa toimuda iseenesest, selleks on vaja teatud liiki kapital: kõige äratuntavamalt kindlasti nn finantskapitali (tühja kõhuga inimest ei huvita Wiiralt), lisaks ka hariduslikku ja kultuurilist kapitali, sotsiaalset kapitali (et üheskoos mõne huvigrupiga kultuuris osaleda) ja teinekord ka poliitilist kapitali, et oma kogukonda esindada ja kultuuriväljal kõlapinda saavutada. Kultuuriosalust mõjutavad ka muuseumid ning raamatukogud ise: erinevatel tasanditel ligipääsu ja interaktsiooni võimaluste pakkumise kaudu. Nende kaht tüüpi tingimuste (külastajast ja asutusest tulenevate) kohtumispunktina on doktoritöös käsitletud

ka infopädevust ja sotsiaalsed identiteeti, mis külastajast tulenevalt samuti kultuuriosalust mõjutavad.

Lisaks eelpool mainitud teoreetilistele laadi tingimustele on töö kirjutamisel arvesse võetud ka Eesti kui postkommunistliku üleminekuühiskonna omadusi: järjepideva iseseisvuse ja „läände naasmise” narratiive (Tamm 2012), poliitilist kultuuri (nt Masso 2001; Heidmets 2007; Lauristin ja Vihalemm 2009b) ning kolmanda sektori olukorda (Lauristin ja Vihalemm 2009b; Rikmann jt 2010). Eesti kultuuriasutusi on „kaardistatud”, pidades silmas erinevaid mõjusfääre (Kultuuriministeerium, Haridus- ja Teadusministeerium, teised ministeeriumid, erasektor, amatööride grupid). Nendest mõjusfääridest (sest iga valitsemiskunsti teostav isik või asutus on ise samal ajal kellegi teise poolt valitsetav) lähtudes on tutvustatud Eesti avalike teadmusasutuste ideoloogilist positsiooni nii ajaloos kui ka tänapäeval. Doktoritöö konteksti paremaks mõistmiseks on tutvustatud ka Eesti Rahva Muuseumi ja Tartu Ülikooli Raamatukogu, pidades eeskätt silmas nende tööd külastajatega.

Dokoritöö on oma **meetodikasutuselt** kvalitatiivne: selle asemel, et moodustada erinevate avalike teadmusasutuste valimit, on keskendutud üldiste valitsemiskunsti võtete tuvastamisel just kahele eespool mainitud institutsioonile, ning analüüsitud nende külastajatega seotud praktikaid. Ühest küljest võimaldas see erinevate andmekogumis- ja analüüsimeetoditega<sup>42</sup> leida seatud uurimisküsimustele vastuseid; teisalt tähendab see aga seda, et täpsema ülevaate saamiseks (näiteks rahvaraamatukogude või spetsiifilisemat laadi muuseumide puhul) on siinkohal ette näidatud suund uute uurimuste tarbeks. Uurimuste raames viidi läbi semistruktureeritud intervjuusid (**I, II, III ja V uurimus**), analüüsiti Eesti Rahva Muuseumi ja Tartu Ülikooli Raamatukogu strateegilisi dokumente (**II ja III uurimus**) ning üliõpilaste anonüümseid tagasisidesid (**IV uurimus**) kursuselt „Infopädevuse alused” Tartu Ülikoolis.

Dissertatsiooni **tulemustest** ilmnevad olulisemate valitsemiskunsti võimalustena külastajate „distsiplineerimine” (*disciplining*), „kategoriseerimine” (*categorising*), „eristamine” (*exclusion*) ning „inkorporeerimine” (*incorporation*), mis on väljendatavad erinevate artikulatsioonide ehk kõnetamisviiside kaudu (**III uurimus**). Kuivõrd igale võimusuhtele on võimalik mingil määral vastu hakata, on tähelepanu pööratud ka võimalustele, kuidas külastajatel on võimalik nendele valitsemiskunsti viisidele vastu hakata.

**Distsiplineerimise** puhul kasutatakse olulise artikulatsioonina viidet „inimestele” või „külastajatele” üldiselt – see tähendab, et peetaksegi silmas kõiki avaliku teadmusasutuse külastajaid, kellel on mingid üldised vajadused ja huvid nende asutuste kogude kasutamiseks. „Külastajate” – siinkohal on silmas peetud külastajaid kõige üldisemas tähenduses – distsiplineerimine toimub teatud ettevaatusabinõude (reeglite, regulatsioonide) ja külastajate harimise kaudu, et kogusid korrektselt kasutataks. Kui külastajale taoline distsiplineerimismoodus

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<sup>42</sup> Doktoritöös kasutatud meetodite hulka kuuluvad: üldine kvalitatiivne analüüs, erinevad põhistatud teooria variandid, kriitiline diskursusanalüüs, diskursus-teoreetiline analüüs ja kvalitatiivne kontentanalüüs.



meelepärane ei ole, saab ta sellele vastu hakata, vältides avaliku teadmusasutuse külastamist, või reageerides mõnele teisele kõnetamisviisile.

**Kategoriseerimise** käigus pööratakse külastajate hulgas tähelepanu konkreetsetelt eristuvatele „sihtrühmadele“, mille liikmetel on spetsiifilised huvid ja infovajadused kogude kasutamise osas. Kategoriseerimise puhul määratletakse avalikes teadmusasutustes, kuidas peavad konkreetsete sihtrühmade liikmed end ülal pidama, milline käitumisviis on nende puhul aktsepteeritav (nt mida eeldatakse ülikooliraamatukogus üliõpilaselt, mida muuseumis turistilt). Kategoriseerimist saab tõrjuda, kaitudes sellisel moel, mis ei ole vastavas sihtrühmas tavaliselt kombeks.

**Eristamise ja inkorporeerimisega** seonduvad valitsemiskunsti võtted on pööratud avalike teadmusasutuste „sidusrühmadele“: külastajatest „sõpradele“. Sidusrühmade artikulatsiooni puhul tuleb mängu teatud külastajate võim esindada mõnd külastajate gruppi, kusjuures sidusrühmade puhul tuntakse huvi muuseumi või raamatukogu enda vastu, omades ise ressursse, mille vastu omakorda asutus võib huvi tunda. Sidusrühmade liikmed on peaaegu partnerid (kuid jäävad siiski asutusevälisteks), keda saab eristada ülejäänud külastajatest ning kelle soovitusi või ressursse on võimalik inkorporeerida, asutuse huvides ära kasutada. Sidusrühmade artikulatsioonile ja inkorporeerimise strateegiale on võimalik vastu hakata, kui külastajal on omad plaanid, mis avaliku teadmusasutuse omadega ei haaku. Samas on siinkohal nimetatud vastuhakk erakordselt ebaratsionaalne, kuna sidusrühmana koheldud saamiseks tuleb omajagu vaeva näha.

Kultuuriosalus on Eesti avalikes teadmusasutustes mõjutatud eeskätt hariduse (**I ja IV uurimus**), turunduse (**II ja III uurimus**), aga ka demokraatia (**III ja V uurimus**) diskursustega. Kuna vähemalt analüüsitud asutuste puhul on tegu riigi mõjusfääris asuvate institutsioonidega, on nende oluliseks ideoloogiliseks funktsiooniks iseseisvuse järjepidevuse ja „läände tagasituleku“ narratiivide kandmine.

Avalikes teadmusasutustes soodustatakse kultuuriosalust eeskätt kultuuri tarbimise kaudu (**I, II, III ja IV uurimus**). Kultuuriosalusel esineb kultuuri (ühis)loomise mõttes tugev ajalooline järjepidevus Eesti Rahva Muuseumis, kuid suuresti mõjutab seda järjepidevust ettemääratus. Erinevatel põhjustel on juhud, kus külastajad ise võiksid kultuuriosaluse võimalusi paika panna, väga harvad.

Kultuuriosalust mõtestatakse külastajate seas võrdlemisi sarnaselt avalikes teadmusasutustes levinud praktikatega: kultuuritarbimist käsitletakse seega domineeriva kultuuriosaluse viisina (**I uurimus**). Samas võib ka külastajatel olla oma arusaam kultuuriosalusest (**V uurimus**) – see näitab, et muuseumidel ja raamatukogudel tuleb püüda paremini märgata erinevaid külastajate gruppe (mis alati ei ole tingimata sidusad ning mille märkamine on seetõttu keeruline), et seejärel neile sobivat võimalust kultuuris osalemiseks pakkuda.

Nagu iga teadustöö puhul, on ka käesoleva doktoritöö kohta õigustatud küsimused stiilis: „**Hästi, aga mida need tulemused meile annavad?**“ või „**Mis on selle uurimistöö praktiline väärtus?**“. Selle doktoritööga on ühest küljest panustatud meedia ja kommunikatsiooni uuringute valdkonda, lähenedes

kultuuriosaluse teemale valitsemiskunsti uuringute haru kaudu, võttes sealjuures arvesse Eesti postkommunistliku üleminekuühiskonna eripärasid.

Teisest küljest on doktoritööl ka praktiline suunitlus: vaadelda igapäevaseid ja enesestmõistetavaid praktikaid teatud distantsilt ja anda uurimuse tulemustest lähtuvalt vihjeid külastajatele suunatud kommunikatsiooni osas. Nagu nähtub doktoritööst, ei ole külastajatele suunatud kõnetusviiside puhul tegemist tühjade sõnadega, vaid taolisi artikulatsioone saadavad lahutamatult erinevad valitsemiskunsti raames kasutatavad strateegiad. Tundes neid strateegiaid, saavad raamatukogudes ja muuseumides töötavad praktikud analüüsida kultuuriosalust võimaldavate ettevõtmiste võimalikku mõju ja huvi külastajate seas. Näiteks, kui on vaja organiseerida mõnd kultuuriosalust võimaldavat sündmust, siis milline võiks olla selle sündmusega kaasnev kõnetusviis – kui suur on tõenäosus, et külastajad võtavad selle sündmuse heal meelel vastu? Kas nende huvi jääb hoopis leigeks? Mis põhjustel see juhtub? Just taoliste praktikas tekkivatele küsimustele aitabki see doktoritöö vastata. Sarnaselt, nagu ilmnes doktoritöoga samas uurimisrühmas paralleelselt valminud töödest (nt Tatsi 2013), võivad tekkida olulised pinged või möödarääkivused, kui püütakse läbi viia mõnd väga uutmoodi interventsiooni, millele võib järgneda külastajate poolne kriitika. Või, nagu dissertatsioonist selgub, „reklaamib” Tartu Ülikooli Raamatukogu end, ja on seega ka koheldud, eelkõige teenindava tugiüksusena, mille potentsiaal partnerluseks on tegelikult oluliselt suurem. Nii Eesti Rahva Muuseumil kui ka Tartu Ülikooli Raamatukogul on võimalik seega nii täna kui ka homme (ümber) hinnata oma positsioone valitsemiskunsti praktiseerivate asutustena.

Tuleb märkida, et viimaste aastate jooksul on Eestis aset leidnud olulised muutused, mis ei mõjuta ainult tööd külastajatega, vaid muuseumi- või raamatukogutööd tervikuna (olgu siinkohal nimetatud pidevad ümberkorraldused finantsvahendite osas, et osta teatud raamatuid või ajakirju, või tulevikus ainult e-raamatuid (Sibrits 2011; Lang 2013)). Taolised sündmused võivad seada kahtluse alla avalike teadmusasutuste neutraalsuse ideaali ning võivad tekitada konflikte muuseumide ja raamatukogude alusväärtuste ning kasutatavate (kohati ka läbisurutavate) praktikate vahel. Seega on oluline mõtestada lahti muuseumide ja raamatukogude filosoofilisi ning ideoloogilisi aluseid, mis aitavad neid asutusi kaasata kui võrdväärseid partnereid erinevates oluliste otsuste vastuvõtmisega seotud protsessides ka väljaspool raamatukogusid ja muuseume.

Nagu iga uurimuse puhul, vastatakse ka siin doktoritöös teatud küsimustele, samas kui osa küsimusi jääb lahtisteks. Esiteks, nagu mainiti ka eespool, on töös keskendutud kahele suuremale Eesti avalikule teadmusasutusele. Tehtud uurimuste puhul võib pakkuda, et ka teistele muuseumidele ja raamatukogudele on analüüsitud valitsemiskunsti strateegiad omased, kuid on võimalik, et need siiski ka erinevad. Teiseks, kuna käesolev uurimus tugines võrdlemisi väikese-mahulistele kvalitatiivsetele uurimustele, saab selle doktoritöö baasil käsitleda teiste muuseumide ning raamatukogude initsiatiivide ja tegevuste vastuvõttu (ehkki ka juba uuritud asutuste puhul pakub omajagu väljakutseid selleks kindlasti Eesti Rahva Muuseumi uue hoone valmimine). Kolmandaks jätab doktoritöö „ukse lahti” valitsemiskunsti uuringute valdkonnas: milline võiks

olla avalike teadmusasutuste roll „enese valitsemise” (*governing the self* (Foucault [1983] 2011)), oma soovitud identiteedi kujundamise osas. Seega pakub dissertatsioon välja suuna, mille abil läbi viia uusi, oma valdkonnas vajalikke uurimusi.

## APPENDIX. DOCUMENTS USED FOR THE THESIS

The documents used for **Study II**:

1. Statutes of the University of Tartu (Tartu Ülikooli põhikiri);
2. Statutes of the University of Tartu Library (Tartu Ülikooli Raamatukogu põhikiri);
3. The Compulsory Copy Act (Sundeksemplari seadus);
4. The University of Tartu Act (Tartu Ülikooli seadus).

The documents used for **Study III**:

1. Management documents (statutes and strategic plans):
  1. Charter of the Estonian Literary Museum (Eesti Kirjandusmuuseumi põhikiri);
  2. Statutes of the Estonian National Museum (Eesti Rahva Muuseumi põhimäärus);
  3. Strategic development plan of the Estonian National Museum (ERM, strateegiline arengukava 2008–2013);
  4. Statutes of the University of Tartu Library (Tartu Ülikooli Raamatukogu põhikiri);
  5. Development plan of University of Tartu Library (TÜR arengukava 2011–2015).
2. Regulations:
  1. (ELM) Regulations for using the collections of:
    1. The Archival Library;
    2. The Estonian Folklore Archives;
    3. The Estonian Cultural History Archives
  2. (ENM) Regulations for using:
    1. Object collections;
    2. Archive;
    3. Photo collection;
    4. Library;
    5. Audio-visual collection.
  3. University of Tartu Library regulations.



## **PUBLICATIONS**

## CURRICULUM VITAE

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### **Education:**

2012–2013 Vrije Universiteit Brussel, PhD programme in Communication Studies  
2008–2013 Tartu University, PhD programme in Media and Communication  
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### **Language skills:**

Estonian native language  
English excellent in speech and writing  
Russian medium level in speech and writing  
Finnish medium level in speech and writing  
German beginner in speech and writing  
French beginner in speech and writing

### **Professional employment:**

2011–present University of Tartu Library, Librarian (0.50)  
2009–2011 University of Tartu Library, Researcher (0.50)  
2004–2009 University of Tartu Library, Head of the Bibliography Department (1.00)  
2003–2004 University of Tartu Library, Bibliographer (1.00)  
2002–2003 National Library of Estonia, Senior editor (1.00)  
2001–2002 National Library of Estonia, Senior editor (0.5)  
2000–2002 Euro Publications Eesti Ltd., Sales consultant (0.5)  
1999–2000 National Library of Estonia, Data entry clerk in a retro-conversion project (0.5)

**Main research areas:** Museum and library communication; information literacy. Participation in ongoing projects: “Developing museum communication in the 21st century information environment”

### **Scientific-administrative activities and membership in professional organisations:**

ECREA – European Communication and Research Association (2012–present)  
YECREA – ECREA Young Scholars Network, representative of Estonia (2012–present)

ICOM – The International Council of Museums (2013–present)  
ERÜ – Estonian Librarians Association (2013–present)

**Additional publications, related to the PhD thesis:**

- Singer, K., Singer, G., Lepik, K., Norbistrath, U., Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt, P. (2012). Search Strategies of Library Search Experts. *Qualitative and Quantitative Methods in Libraries*, 1(1), 89–97.
- Lepik, K. (2011). Infopädevuse tutvustamisest ühiskonnas. *Raamatukogu*, 6, 24–25.
- Lepik, K. (2011). Saateks „Infokirjaoskuse” rubriigile. *Raamatukogu*, 6, 24.
- Lepik, K. (2010). Changing users of the digital library. In Aljas, A; Kelomees, R; Laak, M; Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt, P; Randviir, T; Runnel, P; Savan, M; Tomberg (Toim.) *Transforming Culture in the Digital Age International Conference in Tartu 14–16 April 2010: Transforming Culture in the Digital Age International Conference, Tartu, 14.–16. aprill 2010*. Tartu: Estonian National Museum; Estonian Literary Museum; University of Tartu, 273–280.



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2008–2013 Tartu Ülikool, meedia ja kommunikatsiooni doktoriõpe  
2003–2006 Tallinna Ülikool, magistrantuur, sotsiaalteaduste magister  
infojuhtimise erialal  
1998–2002 Tallinna Pedagoogikaülikool, bakalaureuseõpe, BA infoteaduses

### **Keelteoskus:**

eesti keel emakeel  
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vene keel kesktase nii kõnes kui ka kirjas  
soome keel kesktase nii kõnes kui ka kirjas  
saksa keel algtase nii kõnes kui ka kirjas  
prantsuse keel algtase nii kõnes kui ka kirjas

### **Teenistuskäik:**

2011–tänaseni Tartu Ülikooli Raamatukogu, raamatukoguhoidja (0,50)  
2009–2011 Tartu Ülikooli Raamatukogu, teadur (0,50)  
2004–2009 Tartu Ülikooli Raamatukogu, bibliograafiaosakonna juhataja  
(1,00)  
2003–2004 Tartu Ülikooli Raamatukogu, bibliograaf (1,00)  
2002–2003 Eesti Rahvusraamatukogu, vanemtoimetaja (1,00)  
2001–2002 Eesti Rahvusraamatukogu, vanemtoimetaja (0,5)  
2000–2002 Euro Publications Eesti OÜ, müügikonsultant (0,5)  
1999–2000 Eesti Rahvusraamatukogu, andmesisestaja  
retrokonverteerimisprojekti raames (0,5)

**Peamised uurimisvaldkonnad:** Muuseumi ja raamatukogu kommunikatsioon;  
infopädevus. Osalemine käimasolevates projektides: “Muuseumi kommunikatsiooni arendamine 21. sajandi infokeskkonnas”.

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ECREA – European Communication and Research Association (2012–tänaseni)  
YECREA – ECREA Young Scholars Network, Eesti esindaja (2012–tänaseni)  
ICOM – The International Council of Museums (2013–tänaseni)  
ERÜ – Eesti Raamatukoguhoidjate Ühing (2013–tänaseni)

**Dokoritööga seotud täiendavad publikatsioonid:**

- Singer, K., Singer, G., Lepik, K., Norbistrath, U., Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt, P. (2012). Search Strategies of Library Search Experts. *Qualitative and Quantitative Methods in Libraries*, 1(1), 89–97.
- Lepik, K. (2011). Infopädevuse tutvustamisest ühiskonnas. *Raamatukogu*, 6, 24–25.
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- Lepik, K. (2010). Changing users of the digital library. In Aljas, A; Kelomees, R; Laak, M; Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt, P; Randviir, T; Runnel, P; Savan, M; Tomberg (Toim.) *Transforming Culture in the Digital Age International Conference in Tartu 14–16 April 2010: Transforming Culture in the Digital Age International Conference, Tartu, 14.–16. aprill 2010*. Tartu: Estonian National Museum; Estonian Literary Museum; University of Tartu, 273–280.

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17. **Maarja Siiner.** Towards a more flexible language policy: a comparative analysis of language policy design in Denmark and Estonia. Tartu, 2012, 231 p.
18. **Taavi Tatsi.** Transformations of museum-embedded cultural expertise. Tartu, 2013, 148 p.